PLUTARCH's

LIVES.

VOLUME III.

CONTAINING

PHILOPŒMEN,	SYLLA,
T. Q. FLAMINIUS,	CIMON,
PYRRHUS,	LUCULLUS,
CAIUS MARIUS,	NICIAS,
LYSANDER,	MARCUS CRASSUS.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by A. DONALDSON and J. REID.
For ALEXANDER DONALDSON, and sold at his shops in *London* and *Edinburgh*.
MDCCLXIII.

THE LIFE OF PHILOPOEMEN.

CLeander * was a man of great quality and power in the city of Mantinea, but, by a reverse of fortune, happened to be driven from thence. There being an intimate friendship between him and Craulis †, the father of Philopoemen, who was a person of extraordinary worth, he letted at Megalopolis, while his friend lived, he was splendidly m[illegible] Then Craulis died, he repaid the kindness [illegible] kindness by the care of his orphan [illegible] by which means Philopoemen was educated by him, as Homer says Achilles was by Phœnix, and from his infancy formed to noble and virtuous inclinations. But Ecdemus and Demophanes ‡ had the principal care of him, after he was past the years of childhood: they were both Megalopolitans, they profited the academic philosophy, which they had learned from Arcesilaus ¶, and above all men of their time applied the precepts of philosophy to action and state-affairs. They had freed their country from tyranny, by employ-

* Some manuscripts read Cleander, and so he is called by Paulanias.

† Paulanias calls him Craugis.

‡ Paulanias calls them Ecdemus and Megaphanes.

¶ Arcesilaus was founder of the middle academy.

THE LIFE OF PHILOPOEMEN.

CAsander * was a man of great quality and power in the city of Mantinæa, but, by a reverse of fortune, happened to be driven from thence. There being an intimate friendship betwixt him and Crausis †, the father of Philopœmen, who was a person of extraordinary worth, he settled at Megalopolis, where, while his friend lived, he was splendidly maintained. When Crausis died, he repaid the father's hospitable kindness by the care of his orphan son; by which means Philopœmen was educated by him, as Homer says Achilles was by Phœnix, and from his infancy formed to noble and virtuous inclinations. But Ecdemus and Demophanes ‡ had the principal care of him, after he was past the years of childhood: they were both Megalopolitans; they professed the academic philosophy, which they had learned from Arcesilaus ‖, and above all men of their time applied the precepts of philosophy to action and state-affairs. They had freed their country from slavery, by employ-

* Some manuscripts read *Cleander*; and so he is called by Pausanias.

† Pausanias calls him *Craugis*.

‡ Pausanias calls them *Ecdelus* and *Megalophanes*.

‖ Arcesilaus was founder of the middle academy.

ing ſome perſons privately to kill Ariſtodemus; they had aſſiſted Aratus in driving out the tyrant Nicocles from Sicyon; and at the requeſt of the Cyrenæans, when their city was in great confuſion, went thither by ſea, inſtituted for them excellent laws, and admirably regulated their commonwealth. Of all their actions, they moſt valued the education of Philopœmen, thinking, that, by inſtructing him in the precepts of philoſophy, they had rendered him a general bleſſing to Greece. And indeed, as he was born the laſt of ſo many famous generals, Greece looked upon him as the child of her old age, loved him extremely, and as his reputation increaſed, enlarged his power. A certain Roman, to praiſe him, calls him *the laſt of the Grecians*; as if after him Greece had produced no great man, nor any who deſerved the name of *Grecian*.

His countenance was not, as ſome fancy, deformed, for his ſtatue is yet to be ſeen at Delphi *. As for the miſtake of his hoſteſs at Megara, they ſay it was occaſioned by the meanneſs of his habit, the homelineſs of his garb, and the eaſy plainneſs of his converſation. She having word brought her that the general of the Achæans was coming to her houſe in the abſence of her huſband, was in a great hurry about providing his ſupper. Philopœmen juſt at that time arriving in a mean garb, ſhe took him for one of his own attendants, and deſired him to aſſiſt her in her houſehold work; he preſently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave ſome wood. The huſband returning, and finding him thus employed, ſaid, *What is the meaning of this, Philopœmen? I am*, replied he in his Doric dialect, *paying the fine of my deformity*. Flaminius ſeeming to

* Pauſanias aſſerts the contrary. He aſſures us, that, for ſize and ſtrength of body, he was not inferior to any man in Peloponneſus, but that he was very ill-favoured, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἦν τῷ προσώπῳ κακός; and it muſt be confeſſed that this homelineſs beſt accounts for Philopœmen's anſwer to the woman at Megara.

rally

rally the form of his body, told him one day, he had well-ſhaped hands and feet, but no belly: and he was indeed very ſlender in the waiſt. But this raillery was meant of the poverty of his fortune; for he had good ſoldiers both horſe and foot, but often wanted money to pay them. Theſe are ſtories which are told in the ſchools concerning Philopœmen.

As he was inſatiably covetous of honour, his temper was ſomewhat rough and choleric. He ſtrove to reſemble Epaminondas, and came not much behind him in valour, good conduct, and uncorruptible integrity: but his bold imperious temper not ſuffering him in civil conteſts to keep within the bounds of gravity, mildneſs, and humanity, he was thought more proper for the camp than for the city; for he was ſtrongly inclined to war, even from his childhood, and applied himſelf to ſuch arts as related to it, taking great delight in managing of horſes, and handling of weapons. Becauſe he was naturally well-formed for wreſtling, his friends and tutors perſuaded him to beſtow ſome pains upon that art. But he would firſt be ſatisfied, whether it would not hinder his improvement as a ſoldier. They told him the truth, that the habit of body, the manner of life, the diet and exerciſe of a ſoldier and a wreſtler were quite different; that the wreſtler ſlept much and fed plentifully, was punctually regular in his ſet times of exerciſe and reſt, every little exceſs, or breach of his uſual method, being injurious to him; whereas the ſoldier, by all variety of irregular changes, was to bring himſelf to endure hunger and watching without difficulty. Philopœmen hearing this, not only laid by all thoughts of wreſtling, and contemned it then, but when he came to be general, diſcouraged it by all the marks of reproach and infamy he could imagine, as a thing which rendered men, o-

therwiſe very fit for war, utterly uſeleſs, and unable to fight on neceſſary occaſions.

When he ceaſed to be under the authority of his maſters and governors, and began to bear arms in the incurſions which his citizens uſed to make upon the Lacedæmonians for pillage, he always marched out the firſt, and returned the laſt. In times of leiſure he exerciſed his body, and endeavoured to render it ſtrong and active, by hunting, or labouring his ground; for he had a good eſtate about twenty furlongs from the town, and thither he went every day after dinner and ſupper; and at night threw himſelf upon the firſt mattreſs in his way, and there ſlept as one of the labourers. At break of day he would riſe with the reſt, and work either in the vineyard or at the plough; from thence he returned again to the town, and employed his time in public buſineſs with his friends or the magiſtrates. What he got in the wars, he laid out on horſes, arms, or in redeeming captives; but he endeavoured to improve his own eſtate, the juſteſt way, by huſbandry; and this he practiſed not ſlightly, by way of diverſion, but as one who thought it his duty ſo to manage his own fortune, as to be free from all temptation of wronging others.

He ſpent much time in hearing the diſcourſes and ſtudying the writings of philoſophers; but he ſelected his authors, and read only thoſe by whom he might improve in virtue. Among all Homer's fictions and ſentiments he chiefly minded thoſe that ſerved to raiſe the courage, and ſpur men on to great actions. As to other authors, he ſtudied principally the tactics of Evangelus *, and the hi-

* This author is mentioned by Arrian, who alſo wrote a treatiſe on tactics, or the art of drawing up an army in battle. He ſays that the writings of this Evangelus, and thoſe of Polybius, Eupolemus, Iphicrates, and Poſidonius were become of but little uſe in his time, becauſe they had omitted ſeveral things as being well known in the age wherein they wrote, which however then wanted ſome explication.

ſtories

ſtories of Alexander. As he thought that the true end of reading was not merely to paſs away the time, or to furniſh matter for fruitleſs talk, but to reduce what is read into practice, he paid little regard to the plans and figures by which the writers on tactics illuſtrate their precepts; he ſtudied the nature and ſituation of places themſelves; ſo that he would be exerciſing his thoughts as he travelled, and arguing with thoſe who were with him, about the difficulties of ſteep or broken ground, and the difference that would be occaſioned in the arrangement of an army by rivers, ditches, and defiles. The truth is, he was too much addicted to war, which he paſſionately loved, conſidering it as the means of exerciſing all ſorts of virtue; and he utterly contemned thoſe who were not ſoldiers, as drones and uſeleſs in the commonwealth.

When he was thirty years of age, Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, ſurpriſed Megalopolis by night, forced the guards, broke in, and ſeized the market-place. Philopœmen ran to the aſſiſtance of the citizens, fought very gallantly, and expoſed himſelf to great danger, but he could not beat the enemy out again. However, he ſaved the citizens, who eſcaped while he made head againſt thoſe who purſued them, and kept Cleomenes employed, till having loſt his horſe, and received ſeveral wounds, he had much ado to eſcape himſelf, being the laſt man in the retreat. The Megalopolitans ſaved themſelves at Meſſene, whither Cleomenes ſent to them, offering to reſtore their town, their goods, and their territory. Philopœmen perceiving that they were pleaſed with the offer, and eager to return, prevented them, by repreſenting, that what Cleomenes called reſtoring the city, was taking the citizens, and holding the place with more ſecurity; that ſolitude would ſoon force him away, as it could not be ſuppoſed that he would ſtay to guard empty houſes and naked walls. Theſe reaſons

ſons ſtopped the Megapolitans, but gave occaſion to Cleomenes to pillage and deſtroy a great part of the city, and carry away much booty.

Some time after King Antigonus coming down to ſuccour the Achæans, they marched with their united forces againſt Cleomenes; who having ſeized the avenues, lay advantageouſly poſted on the hills of Sellaſia. Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a reſolution to force him from his poſt. Philopœmen with his citizens was that day placed among the horſe, ſupported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous body of tried and able men, who cloſed that wing of the army. Their orders were to keep their ground, and not engage till from the other wing, where the king fought in perſon, they ſhould ſee a red robe lifted up on the point of a ſpear. The Achæans obeyed the orders, and ſtood faſt: but the Illyrians fell briſkly upon the enemy. Euclidas the brother of Cleomenes, ſeeing the foot thus ſevered from the horſe, detached the beſt of his light-armed men, commanding them to wheel about, and charge the rear of the Illyrians. This attack put them into great confuſion; but Philopœmen conſidering that thoſe light-armed men might eaſily be diſperſed, went firſt to the king's officers, to make them ſenſible what the occaſion required. They paid no regard to his advice, looking upon him as a raſh, inconſiderate young man; for his reputation for military ſkill and conduct was not yet eſtabliſhed. He therefore attacked thoſe light-armed troops with his own citizens, and at the firſt encounter diſordered, and ſoon after put them to flight with great ſlaughter. Then to encourage the king's army to make a general attack upon the enemy while they were in confuſion, he quitted his horſe; and while he was fighting with great difficulty in his heavy horſeman's armour, upon rough uneven ground full of ſprings and bogs, he had both his thighs ſtruck through with a javelin, ſo

that

that the point came out on the other ſide, and made a great, though not a mortal wound. He ſtood ſtill a while, as if he had been ſhackled, and was quite unable to move. The thong in the middle of the weapon rendered it difficult to be drawn out; nor would any about him venture to do it. But the fight being now at the hotteſt, and like to be quickly over, he was impatient to be engaged, and ſtruggled and ſtrained ſo long, moving his legs backward and forward, that at laſt he broke the ſtaff, and ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Being in this manner ſet at liberty, he caught up his ſword, and running through the midſt of thoſe who were fighting in the firſt ranks, ſtrangely animated his men, and fired them with emulation. Antigonus, after the victory, aſked the Macedonians, (pretending ignorance), how it happened that the horſe had charged before the ſignal was given? They anſwered, that they were againſt their will forced to it by a young man of Megalopolis, who had begun the attack too ſoon. *That young man*, replied Antigonus ſmiling, *has acted like an experienced commander.*

This action, as we may eaſily imagine, brought Philopœmen into great reputation. Antigonus was eager to have him in his ſervice, and offered him very advantageous terms, both as to command and pay. But Philopœmen, who knew that his nature brooked not to be under another, would not accept them; yet not enduring to live idle, and being deſirous to exerciſe and improve his martial talents, hearing there was a war in Crete, he paſſed over thither. Having ſpent a conſiderable time there with men diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and military knowledge, as well as for their ſobriety and temperance, he returned with ſo much fame, that the Achæans immediately choſe him general of the horſe. Their cavalry at that time had neither experience nor courage, having been accuſtomed to ſerve on little trifling horſes, the firſt and cheapeſt

they

they could procure, when they were to march; which too they ſeldom did, but hired others in their places, and ſtaid at home themſelves. Their former commanders winked at this, becauſe it being a degree of honour among the Achæans to ſerve on horſeback, they had a great deal of power in the commonwealth, and were able to gratify or moleſt whom they pleaſed. Philopœmen finding them in this condition, yielded not to ſuch conſiderations, but went himſelf from town to town, where ſpeaking to the young men, one by one, he endeavoured to inſpire them with the love of praiſe and honour; ſuch as he could not otherwiſe influence, he puniſhed; and by continually exerciſing and reviewing them, and making them ſkirmiſh with one another in thoſe places where they were like to have moſt ſpectators, he in a little time rendered them wonderfully ſtrong and bold, and, which is reckoned of greateſt conſequence in war, quick and vigorous. By uſe and induſtry they acquired ſuch a command of their horſes, and ſuch a readineſs and exactneſs in their various motions and evolutions whether performed ſeparately or together, that the whole number ſeemed like a ſingle body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans by the river Lariſſus, Damophantus, general of the Elean horſe, ſingled out Philopœmen, and ran full ſpeed at him. Philopœmen prevented him, and with a violent blow of his ſpear threw him dead upon the ground. As ſoon as he fell, the enemy fled immediately. And now Philopœmen was univerſally celebrated as a man who in perſonal valour yielded not to the youngeſt, nor to the oldeſt in good conduct, and who was equally qualified to fight and to command.

Aratus indeed was the firſt who raiſed the reputation and power of the Achæans, till then inconſiderable, by uniting the divided cities into one commonwealth,

monwealth, and ſettling a form of government, moderate and becoming Grecians. As in running waters, when a few little bodies once ſtop, others ſtick to them, and one part ſtrengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and ſolid body; ſo it was with Greece. Before the time of Aratus, when every city relied on itſelf, the whole lay expoſed to an eaſy deſtruction. But the Achæans firſt united themſelves into a body, and then drew in their neighbours round about, ſome of whom they engaged to join with them by delivering them from the tyrants who oppreſſed them, while others were of themſelves inclined to ſhare the advantage of ſo ſalutary an union and ſo well conſtituted a government; and they deſigned at laſt to bring all Peloponneſus into one community. Yet, while Aratus lived, they depended much on the Macedonians, courting firſt Ptolemy, then Antigonus and Philip, who had a great influence on the affairs of Greece. But when Philopœmen came to command, the Achæans growing ſtrong enough for the moſt powerful of their enemies, would march no longer under foreigners. The truth is, Aratus, as we have written in his life, was not of ſo warlike a temper; what he did was chiefly effected by his mildneſs and affability, and his friendſhip with foreign princes. But Philopœmen, being a man of an active and martial diſpoſition, and fortunate in his firſt attempts, greatly increaſed both the power and courage of the Achæans, who were accuſtomed to victory under his conduct.

But firſt he altered what he found amiſs in their arms and form of battle. Formerly they uſed light, thin bucklers, too narrow to cover the body, and javelins much ſhorter than thoſe of the Macedonians. By which means they were well fitted for ſkirmiſhing at a diſtance, but in a cloſe fight had much the diſadvantage. As to their form of battle,

they

they were unaccuſtomed to that which is called *ſpiral* *; and their ſquare phalanx was eaſily ſeparated and broken, not having the ſtrength and ſecurity which that of the Macedonians had, who projected their long ſpears in front, and ſtood ſo cloſe that all their ſhields were joined together. Philopœmen reformed all this, perſuading them to change the narrow target and ſhort javelin, into a large buckler and long pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs; and inſtead of looſe ſkirmiſhing, to fight firmly, and foot to foot. After he had brought them all to wear armour, and by that means to look upon themſelves as invincible, he turned their wanton riotous profuſions into an honourable expenſe. For being long uſed to vie with each other in their cloaths, in the furniture of their houſes, and ſervice of their tables, he ſaw it was impoſſible to deſtroy entirely this vain and fooliſh emulation, which was like an inveterate malady; he therefore endeavoured to divert this vanity of theirs from theſe ſuperfluities to things uſeful and laudable, and quickly prevailed upon them to be ſparing in their other expenſes, that they might make a finer appearance in their warlike equipage. Nothing then was to be ſeen in the ſhops but plate breaking or melting down, breaſt-plates, bucklers, and bridles adorned with gold and ſilver; nothing in the places of exerciſe, but horſes managing, and young men exerciſing their arms: in the hands of the women were frequently ſeen helmets and creſts adorned with various colours, and embroidered military veſts both for the cavalry and infantry. The ſight of theſe things raiſed their ſpirits and quickened their courage, ſo that they contemned dangers, and were ready to venture on any honourable exploits.

Much expenſe in other things that attract our

* The original is τάξις εἰς σπεῖραν; but what kind of figure is meant by it, is not known.

eyes

eyes is apt to produce luxury and effeminacy; the grateful titillation of the ſenſe ſlackening the vigour of the mind; but in this inſtance it ſtrengthens and improves it: thus Homer repreſents Achilles at the ſight of his new arms exulting with joy, and on fire to uſe them. When Philopœmen had prevailed on them to arm, and adorn themſelves in this manner, he proceeded to train them, muſtering and exerciſing them perpetually; and they obeyed him with great cheerfulneſs and exactneſs. For they were wonderfully pleaſed with their new form of battle, which being ſo knit and cemented together, ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to be broken. And their arms, which for their richneſs and beauty they wore with pleaſure, becoming light and eaſy by conſtant uſe, they longed for nothing more than to try them with an enemy, and to fight in earneſt.

The Achæans at that time were at war with Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who having a ſtrong army, watched all opportunities of becoming entire maſter of Peloponneſus. When intelligence came that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopœmen preſently took the field, and marched towards him. They met near Mantinea, and drew up in ſight of the city. Beſide the whole ſtrength of their ſeveral cities, they both had a good number of mercenaries in pay. The engagement being begun, Machanidas, with his hired ſoldiers, broke through the ſpearmen and Tarentines whom Philopœmen had placed in the front, to cover the Achæans. But when he ſhould have charged immediately into the main battle, which ſtood cloſe and firm, he hotly followed the chace; and inſtead of routing the Achæan army, diſordered his own. After ſo unfortunate a beginning, the reſt of the confederates gave themſelves for loſt; but Philopœmen ſeemed to ſlight it as a matter of ſmall conſequence; and obſerving the enemy's overſight, who had left their main body undefended, and the

ground clear, would not make head againſt Machanidas, but let him purſue the runaways freely, till he had got to a great diſtance from his main body. Then ſeeing the Lacedæmonians before him, deſerted by their horſe, with their flanks expoſed, he charged ſuddenly, and ſurpriſed them while they were without a commander, and did not expect an encounter: for when they ſaw Machanidas driving the enemy before him, they thought the victory already gained. He overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, for they report that above four thouſand were killed in the place; he then faced about againſt Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the purſuit. There happened to be a broad deep ditch between them, where both ſtrove a while, one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. The conteſt ſeemed not like that between two generals, but rather reſembled an encounter between an eager huntſman and a wild beaſt cloſely purſued, whom neceſſity reduces to fight. The tyrant's horſe was mettled and ſtrong; and feeling the bloody ſpurs in his ſides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raiſing his fore feet in order to climb up the oppoſite bank, when Symmias and Polyænus, who uſed to fight by the ſide of Philopœmen, rode up and levelled their ſpears againſt Machanidas. But Philopœmen, preventing both, advanced himſelf; and perceiving that the horſe, with his head high reared, covered his maſter's body; he turned his own a little, and ſtriking at Machanidas with all his force, tumbled him dead into the ditch. The Achæans, being wonderfully pleaſed with his valour in this ſingle combat, and with his conduct the whole day, ſet up his ſtatue in braſs at Delphi, in the poſture in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported, that at the Nemean games, a little after the victory, Philopœmen being then general the ſecond time, and at leiſure by reaſon of the ſolemnity,

lemnity, firſt ſhowed the Grecians his army, drawn up as if they were to fight, with all the motions occurring in a battle performed with wonderful order, ſtrength, and activity. After which he went into the theatre, while the muſicians were ſinging for the prize. He was attended by a number of his ſoldiers dreſſed in their military veſts and ſcarlet tunics; they were all in the flower of their age, and comely in their perſons; and though they ſhowed great reſpect to their general, yet they ſeemed to have a noble confidence in themſelves, raiſed by ſucceſs in many glorious encounters. At their coming in, by chance one Pylades, a muſician, with a voice well ſuited to the lofty ſtyle of the poet, was ſinging this verſe out of the Perſæ of Timotheus,

Glory and freedom Greece from me receives,

The whole theatre preſently caſt their eyes on Philopœmen, and clapped their hands for joy, being raviſhed with the hopes of recovering again their former fame, and feeling in themſelves a degree of reſolution and magnanimity little ſhort of their ancient virtue.

As young horſes go quietly with their uſual riders, but are wild and unruly under ſtrangers; thus it was with the Achæans. The ſoldiers, when Philopœmen was not at their head, grew dejected, and looked about for him; but if he once appeared, they preſently recovered their confidence and courage, knowing that their enemies could not endure to look him in the face; but, as appeared on ſeveral occaſions, were frighted with his very name.

Philip, King of Macedon, thinking to terrify the Achæans into ſubjection again, if he could rid his hands of Philopœmen, ſent ſome perſons privately to Argos to aſſaſſinate him. But the treachery coming to light, he became infamous, and mortally hated through all Greece. When the Bœo-

tians were beſieging Megara, and were ready to carry the town by ſtorm, upon a groundleſs rumour that Philopœmen was at hand with ſuccour, they ran away, and left their ſcaling-ladders already faſtened to the walls. Nabis (who became tyrant of Lacedæmon after the death of Machanidas) had ſurpriſed Meſſene at a time when Philopœmen was out of command. He tried to perſuade Lyſippus, then general of the Achæans, to ſuccour Meſſene: but not prevailing with him, becauſe he ſaid the enemy being now within, the place was irrecoverably loſt, he reſolved to go himſelf, without order or commiſſion, but followed by his own citizens, who went all with him as their general by commiſſion from nature, which has decreed that he ſhould be obeyed, who is fitteſt to command. Nabis hearing of his coming, though his army lay quartered within the town, would not ſtay; but ſtealing out of the fartheſt gate with his men, marched away with all the ſpeed he could, thinking himſelf a happy man if he could get off with ſafety. He did indeed eſcape, but Meſſene was reſcued.

All that we have related hitherto is honourable to Philopœmen. But when, at the requeſt of the Gortynians he returned again into Crete to command them, at a time when his own country was diſtreſſed by Nabis, he was accuſed either of cowardice, in ſhunning to fight a dangerous enemy, or elſe of an unſeaſonable vanity in courting the praiſe of foreigners at ſuch a time. For the Megalopolitans were then ſo preſſed, that the enemy having laid waſte their fields, and encamped almoſt at their gates, they were forced to keep themſelves within their walls, and ſow their very ſtreets; while he flying from a war at home, and commanding in chief in a foreign nation, furniſhed his enemies with matter enough for their reproaches. Some ſaid he accepted the offer of the Gortynians, becauſe the Achæans choſe other generals, and left

him

him but a private man; for he could not endure to ſit ſtill, but looking upon war and the office of a general as his great buſineſs, always coveted to be employed. And this agrees with what he once ſaid of King Ptolemy. Somebody was praiſing him for keeping his army and himſelf in perpetual exerciſe: *And what praiſe*, replied Philopœmen, *is it for a king of his years, to be always preparing, and never performing?* However, the Megalopolitans thinking themſelves betrayed, took it ſo ill, that they were about to baniſh him. But the Achæans prevented them by ſending their general Ariſtænetus to Megalopolis, who, though he differed with Philopœmen about affairs of the commonwealth, yet would not ſuffer him to be baniſhed. Philopœmen being upon this account out of favour with his citizens, drew off divers of the little neighbouring places from obeying them, inſtructing them to ſay, that from the beginning they were not ſubject to their taxes, or laws, or any way under their command. In theſe pretences he openly took their part, and at the ſame time fomented ſeditions in the city againſt the Achæans. But theſe things happened ſome time after.

While he ſtaid in Crete, in the ſervice of the Gortynians, he made war not like a Peloponneſian or Arcadian, fairly in the open field, but fought the Cretans at their own weapons, and turning their ſtratagems and tricks againſt themſelves, ſoon made them ſee that they were only like children practiſing low and trifling contrivances againſt a man of real wiſdom and experience. Having managed the war with great bravery, and great reputation to himſelf, he returned into Peloponneſus, where he found Philip beaten by Titus Quintius, and Nabis at war both with the Romans and Achæans. He was preſently choſen general againſt Nabis; but venturing to fight by ſea, ſeemed to have ſplit upon the ſame rock with Epaminondas, and

by a ſucceſs very different from the general expectation, and his own fame, loſt much of his former reputation. As to Epaminondas, indeed ſome report he was backward with deſign, to diſguſt his countrymen at the ſea, leſt of good ſoldiers, they ſhould by degrees become, as Plato ſays, licentious and corrupt mariners: and therefore he returned from Aſia and the iſlands, without doing any thing conſiderable. Whereas Philopœmen thinking his ſkill in land-ſervice would prevail likewiſe at ſea, only learned what a ſhare experience has in making our courage ſucceſsful, and how important it is to be accuſtomed to thoſe things which we undertake to manage. For he was not only worſted in the fight for want of ſkill; but having rigged up an old ſhip, which had been a famous veſſel forty years before, it proved ſo leaky that all the men on board had like to have been loſt. But finding that the enemy, as if he had been driven out of the ſea, had, in contempt of him, beſieged Gythium, he preſently ſet ſail again; and as they did not expect him, being rendered negligent by their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through ſome narrow paſſes, Nabis came ſuddenly upon him. The Achæans were diſmayed, and in ſo ſtrait a place, which was ſeized by the enemy, deſpaired to get off with ſafety. Philopœmen halted, and when he had viewed the ground, made it appear, that the greateſt thing in war is ſkill in drawing up an army. For by advancing only a few paces, and without any confuſion or trouble, altering his order according to the nature of the ground, he preſently took away all apprehenſions from his men, and then charging, put the enemy to flight. But when he ſaw they fled not towards the city, but diſperſed themſelves every where about the country, which was very woody and uneven, and

on account of the brooks and ditches was not paſſable for horſe, he ſounded a retreat, and encamped by broad day-light. Then foreſeeing the enemy would endeavour to ſteal in ſmall parties into the city in the dark, he poſted ſtrong parties of the Achæans all along the rivulets and hillocks near the walls. Many of Nabis's men fell into their hands; for returning not in a body, but as the chance of flight had diſpoſed of every one, they were caught like birds, ere they could enter into the town.

By theſe means he was wonderfully beloved; and was alſo honoured in all the theatres of Greece; but he got the ſecret ill-will of Titus Flaminius, a man remarkably ambitious. For he thought that a conſul of Rome ought to be more honoured by the Achæans, than a man of Arcadia; eſpecially ſeeing there was no compariſon between what he, and what Philopœmen had done for them. For he by one proclamation had reſtored liberty to all that part of Greece which had been in ſubjection to Philip and the Macedonians. After this Titus made peace with Nabis, who afterwards was circumvented and ſlain by the Ætolians. Things being then in confuſion at Sparta, Philopœmen laid hold on that occaſion, and coming upon the Spartans with his army, prevailed on ſome by perſuaſion, on others by fear, and at laſt, brought the whole city over to the Achæans. As it was no ſmall matter for Sparta to become a member of Achæa, he was highly praiſed by the Achæans for ſtrengthening the union by the addition of ſo great and powerful a city, and obtained good-will from the nobility, even of Sparta itſelf, who hoped that he would be the friend and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, having raiſed a hundred and twenty talents by ſale of the houſe and goods of Nabis, they decreed him the money, and determined to ſend ſome perſons in the name of the city to preſent it. But here the honeſty of Philopœmen appeared,

peared, as it was, a real uncounterfeited virtue. There was not a man amongſt them that would undertake to mention the matter to him, but every one excuſing himſelf from this commiſſion, they gave it at laſt to Timolaus, with whom Philopœmen had lodged at Sparta. Timolaus came to Megalopolis, and was entertained by Philopœmen; but ſtruck with admiration at his grave manner of diſcourſe, his frugality and integrity, he judged him not a man to be tempted by money, and ſo, pretending other buſineſs, returned without mentioning a word of the preſent. He was ſent again, and acted juſt as before. But the third time, with great difficulty, he acquainted Philopœmen with the good-will of the city of Sparta to him. Philopœmen hearkened to him with pleaſure, and then went himſelf to Sparta, where he adviſed them not to bribe good men, and their friends, of whoſe virtue they might be ſure without charge to themſelves; but to buy off and ſilence thoſe bad men who were perpetually diſquieting the city with their ſeditious ſpeeches in the ſenate, or to the people; it being better to bar liberty of ſpeech in enemies, than in friends. Such was Philopœmen's contempt of money.

Diophanes being afterwards general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians were raiſing new commotions, reſolved to chaſtiſe them. They on the other ſide prepared for war, and embroiled all Peloponneſus. Philopœmen did what he could to appeaſe Diophanes, and make him ſenſible, that at that time, while Antiochus and the Romans with ſuch powerful armies were contending in the heart of Greece *, it was the duty of a man in his employment to keep a watchful eye over them, and by diſſembling and paſſing by many injuries to preſerve all quiet at home. Diophanes would not

* C. Livius had that year the command of the Roman fleet, with which he defeated that of Antiochus near Epheſus.

be

be ruled, but joined with Titus, and both together entering Laconia, marched directly to Sparta. Philopœmen was ſo provoked, that he did an action not ſtrictly juſtifiable, but which proceeded from a great and undaunted ſpirit; for getting into the town himſelf, he, though but a private man, kept out both the conſul of Rome and general of Achæa, quieted the diſorders in the city, and united it once again to the Achæans.

Yet afterwards when he was general himſelf, upon ſome new miſdemeanour of the Lacedæmonians, he brought back thoſe who had been baniſhed, put to death, as Polybius writes, eighty, according to Ariſtocrates, three hundred and fifty citizens, razed the walls, took away a conſiderable part of their territory, which he gave to the Megalopolitans, forced out of the country, and carried into Achæa, all who had been made free of Sparta by the tyrants, except three thouſand who would not ſubmit to baniſhment. Thoſe he ſold for ſlaves, and with the money, as if to inſult over them, built a porch at Megalopolis. Laſtly, unworthily trampling upon the Lacedæmonians in their calamities, and even glutting his hatred with a moſt cruel and unjuſt action, he aboliſhed the laws of Lycurgus, and forced them to educate their children and youth after the manner of the Achæans. For while they kept to the diſcipline of Lycurgus, their ſpirits were haughty and invincible; but now their calamities had given Philopœmen opportunity to cut the ſinews of their commonwealth aſunder, they became humble and ſubmiſſive. Yet this laſted not long; for applying themſelves to the Romans, and getting their conſent, they ſoon threw off their new Achæan cuſtoms, and, as much as in ſo miſerable and depraved a condition they could, reeſtabliſhed their old diſcipline.

When the war betwixt Antiochus and the Romans broke out in Greece, Philopœmen was a private

vate man. At this he ripened extremely, when he ſaw Antiochus remain idle at Chalcis, where he ſpent his time in courtſhip and gallantry, and where he married a wife very unſuitable to his age; his men in the mean time being diſperſed in ſeveral towns without order and without commanders, and minding nothing but their pleaſures. Philopœmen uſed to ſay that he envied the Romans their victory; and that if he had had the fortune to be then in command, he would have ſurpriſed the enemy, and deſtroyed them all in the taverns. When Antiochus was overcome, the Romans preſſed harder upon Greece, and ſurrounded the Achæans with their power. The leading men in the ſeveral cities came over to their intereſt; and it ſeemed now that heaven had decreed that their power, already great, ſhould become univerſal, and that the time was at hand when fortune, after all her changes and revolutions, ſhould at laſt be immoveably fixed. Philopœmen, in this conjuncture, acted like a good pilot in a ſtorm; ſometimes he yielded to the neceſſity of the times, but generally he continued ſteady, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to keep all who were conſiderable, whether for eloquence or riches, firm in the defence of their common liberty.

Ariſtænetus a Megalopolitan of great credit among the Achæans, but always a favourer of the Romans, ſaid one day in the ſenate, *that the Romans were not to be diſpleaſed, or refuſed any thing.* Philopœmen heard him with ſilent indignation; but at laſt not being able to reſtrain his paſſion any longer, he ſaid to him, *And why in ſuch haſte, wretched man, to behold an end of Greece?* Manius, the Roman conſul, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achæans to reſtorn the baniſhed Lacedæmonians to their country; which motion was ſupported by Titus. But Philopœmen oppoſed it, not for any ill-will to the men, but becauſe he was willing

that

that they ſhould be beholden to him and the Achæans, not to Titus and the Romans; for the next year, when he was general himſelf, he reſtored them. So impatient was his great ſpirit of doing any thing at the command of others, and ſo prone was his nature to contend with ſuperior power.

Being now ſeventy years of age, and the eighth time general, he was in hopes to paſs in quiet, not only the year of his magiſtracy, but his remaining life. For as diſeaſes are weaker in weaker bodies, the contentious humour of the Grecians abated much with their power. But envious fortune threw him down at the cloſe of his life, like one, who with matchleſs ſpeed runs over all the race, and ſtumbles at the goal. It is reported, that being in company where one was praiſed for a great commander, he replied, *there was no great account to be made of a man, who had ſuffered himſelf to be taken alive by his enemies.* A few days after, news came that Dinocrates a Meſſenian, a particular enemy to Philopœmen, and for his wickedneſs and villanies generally hated, had induced the Meſſenians to revolt from the Achæans, and was about to ſeize a little place called *Colonis* *. Philopœmen lay then ſick of a fever at Argos. Upon the news he haſted away, and reached Megalopolis, which was diſtant above four hundred furlongs, in one day. From thence he preſently drew out a choice body of horſe, conſiſting of the chief men of the city, who were in the vigour of their age, and who earneſtly deſired to accompany him in the expedition, both from their affection to him and from their love of glory. As they marched towards Meſſene, meeting with Dinocrates about Evander's hill *, they

* There is no ſuch place known as Colonis. There were two towns near Meſſene, one of which was called *Colone*, and the other *Corone*. Plutarch probably means one of theſe. Livy in relating this ſtory calls the place *Corone*.

charged

charged and routed him *. But five hundred freſh men, who had been left for a guard to the country, happening to appear, the flying enemy rallied again about the hills. Philopœmen fearing to be incloſed, and ſolicitous for his men, retreated over ground extremely diſadvantageous, bringing up the rear in perſon. As he often faced about, and ran upon the enemy, he drew them all upon himſelf; yet none of them dared to approach near him; they only ſhouted and wheeled about him at a diſtance. Being deſirous to ſave every ſingle man, he left his main body ſo often, that at laſt he was left himſelf alone amidſt a great number of enemies. Yet even then none durſt come up to him, but attacking him with their darts at a diſtance, they drove him into ſteep and ſtony places, where his horſe could hardly paſs, though he ſpurred him continually. His age was no hindrance to him, for with perpetual exerciſe his body was ſtill ſtrong and active. But being weakened with ſickneſs, and tired with his long journey, his horſe ſtumbling, threw him, incumbered with his arms, and faint, upon a hard and rugged piece of ground. His head being grievouſly bruiſed with the fall, he lay a while ſpeechleſs, ſo that the enemy thinking him dead, began to turn and ſtrip him. But when they ſaw him lift up his head, and open his eyes, they threw themſelves in crouds upon him, bound his hands behind him, and carried him off, inſulting, with the moſt opprobrious language and every kind of indignity, a man who had never ſo much as dreamed of being led in triumph by Dinocrates.

The Meſſenians, wonderfully elated with the news, thronged to the city-gates. But when they ſaw Philopœmen in a poſture ſo unſuitable to the glory of his great exploits and victories, moſt of them were ſtruck with grief, and deploring the va-

* The hill of Evander is likewiſe unknown; but Polybius and Pauſanias mention a hill called *Evan*, which was not far from Meſſene.

nity

nity and inconſtancy of human fortune, wept with compaſſion. Their tears by little and little turned to kind words; and they began to ſay that they ought to remember what he had done for them and the common liberty, which, by driving away Nabis, he had preſerved. Some few, to make their court to Dinocrates, were for tormenting, and putting him to death, as a dangerous and irreconcileable enemy, who, if once he got looſe, would be ſtill more formidable to Dinocrates who had taken him priſoner, and uſed him with ſuch indignity. They put him at laſt into a dungeon under ground, which they called *the treaſury*, a place into which there came no air nor light from without, and which having no doors, was cloſed with a great ſtone. Having thrown him in there, and rolled the ſtone to the mouth of the dungeon, they placed a guard about it, and left him. In the mean time Philopœmen's ſoldiers recovering themſelves after their flight, and fearing he was dead ſince he appeared no where, made a ſtand, calling him with loud cries, and reproaching one another with their unworthy and ſhameful eſcape, and with betraying their general, who, to preſerve their lives, had loſt his own. After a diligent ſearch and inquiry, hearing at laſt that he was taken, they ſpread the news through all the towns of Achæa. The Achæans reſented the misfortune deeply, and decreed to ſend and demand him, and in the mean time drew their army together for his reſcue.

While theſe things paſſed in Achæa, Dinocrates fearing that delays would ſave Philopœmen, reſolved to be beforehand with the Achæans; wherefore, as ſoon as night had diſperſed the multitude, he ſent in the executioner with poiſon, and ordered him not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopœmen was then lying down, wrapt up in his cloak, not ſleeping, but oppreſſed with grief and trouble. When he ſaw the light, and the man ſtanding by

him with the poiſon, he ſtruggled to ſit up, and taking the cup, aſked the executioner if he had heard any thing of the horſemen, particularly Lycortas? The man anſwering, that moſt of them had got off ſafe; he nodded, and looking cheerfully upon him, *It is well*, ſaid he, *that we are not every way unfortunate*. Then, without ſpeaking a word more, he drank off the cup, and lay down again. His weakneſs ſtruggling but little with the poiſon, it diſpatched him preſently.

The news of his death filled all Achæa with grief and lamentation. The youth, with ſome of the chief of the ſeveral cities, met at Megalopolis, with a reſolution to take revenge without delay. They choſe Lycortas general *, and falling upon the Meſſenians, committed terrible devaſtations in their country, till by common conſent they yielded to the Achæans. Dinocrates prevented their revenge by killing himſelf. Thoſe who voted for the death of Philopœmen were put to death by the Achæans, and thoſe who would have had him tormented were ſeized by Lycortas, and reſerved for further puniſhment. Having burnt his body, and put the aſhes into an urn, they marched homeward, not in a confuſed irregular manner, but with a mixture of triumphal and funeral pomp, with crowns of victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes, and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's ſon, carried the urn, whereof there was hardly any thing to be ſeen becauſe of the garlands and ribands with which it was covered. The chief of the Achæans marched near to Polybius. The ſoldiers followed; their horſes were ſplendidly adorned, and themſelves completely armed; and, by their countenances, they appeared nei-

* This was in the ſecond year of the one hundred and forty-ninth Olympiad. Lycortas was the father of Polybius the hiſtorian, who was in the action, and might be at that time about twenty years of age.

ther

ther dejected by their loſs, nor elated by their victory. The people from all the towns and villages in the way, flocked out to meet him, as if he had been returning from conqueſt, and ſaluting and touching the urn, joined the proceſſion and went on to Megalopolis; where when the old men, the women and children were mingled with the reſt, the whole city was filled with cries and lamentations for the loſs of Philopœmen, which they looked upon as the period of their authority and pre-eminence among the Achæans. Thus he was honourably buried according to his worth, and the priſoners were ſtoned to death about the place where his monument was erected.

Many ſtatues were ſet up, and many honours decreed him by the ſeveral cities; all which a certain Roman attempted to remove, who after the deſtruction of Corinth proſecuted him (as if he had been ſtill alive) as an enemy to the Romans *. When the affair was debated, Polybius anſwered the ſycophants at large; and neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would ſuffer the honourable monuments of ſo great a man to be defaced, though he had often croſſed both Titus and Manius. And they diſtinguiſhed well, in my opinion, between intereſt and virtue, between that which is honourable, and that which is profitable; juſtly thinking that gratitude and reward are due to him who confers a benefit, from him who receives it, and that honour is never to be denied by the good to the good. So much concerning Philopœmen.

* Thirty-ſeven years after his death, that is, the ſecond year of the one hundred and forty-eighth Olympiad, one hundred forty-five year before the birth of our Saviour.

THE LIFE OF TITUS Q. FLAMINIUS.

THE perſon whom we pitch upon for a parallel to Philopœmen, is Titus Quintius Flaminius *. Thoſe who are deſirous to be acquainted with his countenance and figure, may ſee them in his brazen ſtatue; which is erected at Rome with a Greek inſcription upon it, overagainſt the Circus Maximus, near to the great ſtatue of Apollo which was brought from Carthage. But as to the temper of his mind, he is ſaid to have been vehement both in his reſentment and his affection, though not to an equal degree in both; for his reſentment was ſoon appeaſed; but in beſtowing favours he was conſtant and indefatigable. He treated thoſe to whom he had done ſervice, with as much civility and reſpect as if he had not conferred, but received the obligation; and paid the utmoſt attention to them, looking on them as his moſt valuable treaſure. As he was in the higheſt degree ambitious of honour and applauſe, he was deſirous to perform the beſt and greateſt actions, and to have the praiſe of them entirely his own; he therefore took more

* His true name was *Flamininus*; ſo he is called by Polybius, Livy, and all the other hiſtorians. The Flaminii and Flaminini were very different families, the former being Plebeians and the latter Patricians.

pleaſure

pleaſure in thoſe that needed his aſſiſtance than in thoſe that were capable of doing him ſervice; looking on the former as the objects on which his virtue might exert itſelf, and on the latter as his competitors in glory.

Rome was then engaged in many conſiderable wars; and her youth betaking themſelves early to arms, learned betimes the art of commanding. Flaminius was from his youth trained up to the profeſſion of arms, and, in the war againſt Hannibal, was tribune under Marcellus who was then conſul. Marcellus indeed, falling into an ambuſcade, was cut off. But Titus getting the government of Tarentum (then retaken), and of the country about it, grew no leſs famous for his adminiſtration of juſtice, than for his military ſkill; for which reaſon he was appointed leader of thoſe two colonies which were ſent into the cities of Narnia and Coſſa. This filled him with loftier thoughts, and made him ſtep over thoſe previous offices through which young candidates uſed to paſs, of tribune of the people, prætor, and ædile, and aim immediately at the conſulſhip. Having therefore theſe colonies ready at his command, he preſented himſelf as a candidate. But the tribunes of the people, Fulvius and Manlius, ſtrongly oppoſed him; alleging how indecent a thing it was, that a man ſo young, who had not yet been initiated in the firſt myſteries of government, ſhould, in contempt of their laws, intrude himſelf into the ſovereign power. However, the ſenate remitted it to the people's choice, who elected him conſul * (though he was

* This period will lead us back exactly to the time of Flamininus's birth. Plutarch tells us he was named conſul with Sextus Ælius Pætus, the ſecond, or, according to others, the third year of the one hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad, in the five hundred and fifty-fifth year of Rome, and that he was not full thirty years of age; from whence it follows, that he was born in the five hundred and twenty-ſixth year of Rome, the firſt year of the hundred and thirty-eighth

was not then thirty years of age) together with Sextus Ælius. The war againſt Philip and the Macedonians fell to Titus by lot; and this was extremely fortunate to the Romans; for that expedition required a general who could employ the methods of mildneſs and perſuaſion, rather than one who would endeavour to ſucceed merely by violence and war. It is true that the kingdom of Macedon furniſhed Philip with a ſufficient number of men to engage the Romans; but to maintain a long and lingering war, he was obliged to call in aid from Greece; Greece was to ſupply him with money and proviſions, with ſtrong holds and retreating-places, and, in a word, with all the materials of war. Unleſs therefore the Grecians could be taken off from ſiding with Philip, this war with him could not be decided by a ſingle battle. Now Greece (which had not hitherto held much correſpondence with the Romans, and did but then begin to concern itſelf with their affairs) would not ſo ſoon have embraced a foreign authority inſtead of the government it had been inured to, had not the Roman conſul been of a humane diſpoſition, an inſinuating addreſs and mild behaviour, one who preferred gentle to violent methods, but above all, one who had a conſtant regard to juſtice. But the following account of his actions will beſt illuſtrate him as to theſe particulars.

Titus finding that both Sulpitius and Publius *, who had been his predeceſſors in that command, had not taken the field againſt the Macedonians till it was late in the year, and then too did not proſecute the war with vigour, but waſted their

Olympiad: and this account agrees with Livy, who ſays that at the time when he proclaimed liberty to Greece, during the celebration of the Iſthmian games, which happened in the firſt year of the one hundred and forty ſixth Olympiad, he was but thirty-three years old.

* Publius Sulpitius Galba was conſul two years before; Publius Villius Tappulus was conſul the year after Sulpitius.

time

time in ſkirmiſhing with Philip, merely to gain ſome paſs or intercept ſome proviſions, determined not to trifle away a year, as they did, at home, in oſtentation of their new-gotten honours, and in the adminiſtration of civil affairs; after which, in the cloſe of the year, they betook themſelves to the army; by which artifice they prolonged their dignity and government to another year, acting the conſul in the firſt, and the general in the latter. But Titus being extremely deſirous to employ his authority in a vigorous proſecution of the war, ſlighted thoſe domeſtic honours and prerogatives. Requeſting therefore of the ſenate that his brother Lucius might command the fleet, and taking with him a choice body of troops, conſiſting of three thouſand of thoſe, who, under Scipio, had defeated Aſdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal in Africa, he got ſafe into Epirus. There he found Publius encamped with his army overagainſt Philip, who had long been in poſſeſſion of the paſſage over the river Apſus, and the ſtraits there; Publius not having been able, on account of the natural ſtrength of the place, to effect any thing againſt him. Titus therefore took upon him the conduct of the army, and having diſmiſſed Publius, began with inquiring into the nature of the country.

The country is no leſs mountainous than that of Tempe, but falls ſhort of it in beauty, not being enriched by the delightful verdure of trees, groves, fields, and meadows. The Apſus runs between great and lofty mountains, (which, ſtanding as a vaſt bank on each ſide the river, make a deep and large channel in the midſt), and both in its appearance and in the ſwiftneſs of its current very much reſembles the river Peneus; it covers the foot of the hills on each ſide, ſo that there is left only a craggy narrow path cut out cloſe by the ſtream, not eaſily paſſable at any time for an army, but not at all when guarded by the enemy. There were ſome, therefore,

therefore, who adviſed Titus to take a compaſs through Daſſaretis, along the river Lycus, which was an eaſy paſſage. But he was afraid that if he ſhould remove too far from the ſea, into barren and almoſt uncultivated countries, and Philip ſhould decline fighting, he might, through want of proviſions, be conſtrained to march back again to the ſea-ſide without effecting any thing, as his predeceſſor had done before him. This made him reſolve to force his way over the mountains. But Philip having poſſeſſed himſelf of them with his army, ſhowered down his darts and arrows from all parts upon the Romans. There were many ſharp ſkirmiſhes, and many were wounded and ſlain on both ſides; but ſtill there was no proſpect of ending the war. In the mean time ſome men, who fed their cattle in thoſe parts, came to Titus with a diſcovery, that there was a way round-about, which the enemy had neglected to guard, and through which they undertook to conduct his army, and to bring them within three days at fartheſt to the top of the hills. To gain the ſurer credit with him, they alleged that Charops the ſon of Machatas was not only privy to their deſign, but would make good all they had promiſed. This Charops was at that time prince of Epirus; he was a friend to the Romans, and gave them aſſiſtance, though he did it privately for fear of Philip. Titus, confiding in him, ſent away a captain with four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe: thoſe herdſmen were their guides, and were kept in bonds. In the day-time they lay ſtill under the covert of the hollow and woody places, but in the night they marched by moon-light, for the moon was then at full. Titus having detached this party, lay ſtill afterwards with his main body; and only had ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, that he might keep them employed. But when the day arrived, on which thoſe who marched round were

expected

expected upon the top of the hill, he drew up early all his light and heavy armed troops, and dividing them into three parts, himſelf led the van, marching his men along the narroweſt paſſage by the ſide of the river; there the Macedonians annoyed him at a diſtance with their darts, and he engaged amidſt thoſe rocks hand to hand with all who approached near him. In the mean time the other two ſquadrons, on either ſide of him, with prodigious alacrity and courage, clinging to the rocks, endeavoured to come to action. But when the ſun was up, a thin ſmoke diſcovered itſelf riſing afar off, like miſts that uſually hang upon the hills. This was unperceived by the enemy, becauſe it was behind them, for it came from the troops who had already gained the tops of the hils; and the Romans were as yet in doubt and ſuſpenſe; however, in their toilſome and dangerous ſituation, they indulged a hope ſuitable to their deſires. But as it grew thicker and thicker, obſcuring the air, and mounting to a greater height, they no longer doubted but it was the ſignal of their companions; whereupon they gave a loud ſhout, and climbing up reſolutely, they drove the enemy into the moſt craggy places; in the mean time thoſe behind the enemy echoed back their ſhouts from the top of the mountain. The Macedonians immediately betook themſelves to flight; there fell not more than two thouſand of them, for the difficulties of the place allowed not a long and cloſe purſuit. But the Romans pillaged their camp, ſeized upon their wealth and ſlaves, and became abſolute maſters of thoſe ſtraits. They then traverſed all Epirus, but with ſuch order and diſcipline, with ſuch temperance and moderation, that though they were far from the ſea, and at a great diſtance from their veſſels, were ſtinted of their monthly allowance of corn, and wanted the opportunities of markets to furniſh themſelves from; yet they did not plunder the country,

country, which had proviſions enough of all ſorts in it. For Titus receiving intelligence that Philip rather fled than marched through Theſſaly, that he forced the inhabitants from the towns to take ſhelter in the mountains, that he burnt the towns themſelves, that a great part of the goods, which for the quantity or cumberſomeneſs of them the people could not carry with them, was given up as plunder to his troops, ſo that the whole country was in a manner yielded up to the Roman army; he earneſtly entreated his ſoldiers, that they would paſs through it as their own, and as a place put into their hands; and indeed they quickly perceived by the event, what benefit they derived from that orderly behaviour. For they no ſooner entered Theſſaly, but the cities ſurrendered to them; and the Grecians within Thermopylæ ardently longed to commit themſelves into the hands of Titus. The Achæans broke their league with Philip, and voted to join with the Romans againſt him. As for the Opuntines, though the Ætolians, who then acted with great zeal in confederacy with the Romans, ſtrongly ſolicited them to put their city under their protection, they would not comply with their requeſt, but ſending for Titus, delivered themſelves up to him.

It is reported of Pyrrhus, that when at firſt from an eminence, which gave him a full proſpect of the Roman army, he ſaw them drawn up in order of battle, he ſaid, *that he diſcerned no barbarity in the barbarian ranks.* Thus all who ſaw Titus, could not but ſpeak of him in the ſame manner at the firſt view. For they who had been told by the Macedonians of an invader at the head of a barbarian army, carrying every where ſlavery and deſtruction, when inſtead of ſuch an one, they met a man in the flower of his age, of a mild and graceful aſpect, a Grecian in his voice and language, and a lover of true honour, were wonderfully charmed and delighted

lighted with him; and when they left him, they filled the cities where they came with an affection and eſteem for him; as reckoning they had now got a leader to liberty. And when afterwards Philip ſeemed inclined to an accommodation, Titus came, and made a tender to him of peace and friendſhip, upon condition that the Grecians ſhould be left to their own laws and liberties, and that he ſhould withdraw his garriſons. This he refuſed to comply with. From this time it was evident to all, and even to the favourers and partiſans of Philip, that the Romans came not to fight againſt the Grecians, but to defend them againſt the Macedonians.

All the reſt of Greece having immediately and voluntarily ſubmitted to him, he marched into Bœotia, though without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility. The nobility and chief men of Thebes came out of their city to meet him. Theſe Thebans, by the influence of Brachyllas * and his faction, favoured the Macedonians, but however complimented and paid reſpect to Titus; for they were yet at amity with both parties. Titus received them in the moſt obliging and courteous manner, and as he went ſlowly on, he aſked various queſtions; and ſometimes entertained them with narratives, amuſing them on purpoſe that ſuch of his ſoldiers as were behind might come up with him. In this manner he and the Thebans came together into their city, not much to their ſatisfaction: they durſt not however deny him entrance, for a conſiderable number of his men followed him. Titus ſtill proceeded to addreſs them, as if he had not had the city at his mercy, and perſuaded them to join with the Romans. King Attalus likewiſe made the ſame requeſt to the Thebans. But Atta-

* This Brachyllas was one of the moſt powerful men in Bœotia and a great advocate for Philip. He was declared general of the Bœotians, but was at laſt aſſaſſinated by ſix men, Xeuxippus being at the head of them.

lus

lus being ambitious to give Titus a ſpecimen of his eloquence beyond what it ſeems his age could bear, a dizzineſs or flux of rheum ſurpriſing him in the midſt of his ſpeech, he ſwooned away, and being not long after conveyed by ſea into Aſia, died there. As for the Bœotians, they ſided with the Romans.

When Philip ſent an embaſſy to Rome, Titus diſpatched away agents on his part too, to ſolicit the ſenate to decree him a continuance in his command, if the war were to be continued; or if they determined to put an end to that, to let him have the honour of concluding the peace. For having a ſtrong deſire of glory, his fear was, that if another general were commiſſioned to carry on the war, the honour even of what was paſt would be loſt to him. But his friends tranſacted matters ſo well on his behalf, that Philip could obtain none of his demands, and the management of the war was continued in Flaminius's hands. As ſoon as he received the ſenate's determination, he with great ardour and confidence of ſucceſs marched directly into Theſſaly, to engage Philip. His army conſiſted of twenty-ſix thouſand men: whereof the Ætolians furniſhed ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. The forces of Philip were much about the ſame number. They advanced each againſt the other, till both drew near Scotuſa, where they reſolved to hazard a battle. The vicinity of two ſuch armies had not the effect that might have been eaſily ſuppoſed, to ſtrike into the generals a mutual terror of each other, but rather inſpired them with ardour and courage; the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whoſe ſtrength and valour Alexander had rendered ſo famous; whilſt the Macedonians on the other hand, eſteeming the Romans a more formidable enemy than the Perſians, hoped, if victory ſtood on their ſide, to make the name of Philip more glorious than that of Alexander.

lexander. Titus therefore entreated his ſoldiers to exert their utmoſt reſolution, ſince they were now to contend in the midſt of Greece (the moſt glorious theatre in the world) with adverſaries renowned for ſtrength and valour. Philip, on the other ſide, began an harangue to his men, as is uſual to do juſt before an engagement, to rouſe their courage: and in order to his being the better heard, he mounted upon an eminence without their camp, which was a burying-place; either being ignorant of this circumſtance, or through too much haſte not attending to it *. He was ſo concerned for the ſtrange deſpondency that ſeized his army at the unluckineſs of this omen, that he remained in his camp all that day, and declined fighting. But on the morrow at day-break, after a wet night, the clouds changing into a miſt, darkened all the plain; and as the day came on, a foggy thick air deſcending from the adjacent mountains betwixt the two camps, covered their ſtations from each other's view: whereupon the parties which were ſent out on either ſide, ſome to form an ambuſcade, ſome to make diſcoveries, falling in upon one another, quickly after they were thus detached from their main bodies, began the fight at the narrow paſſage called *Cynocephalæ* [i. e. *Dog's heads*,] which are ſharp tops of hills that ſtand thick and cloſe to one another, and have gained the name from the likeneſs of their ſhape to a dog's head. Theſe ſkirmiſhes being attended with various ſucceſs, as might well be expected in ſuch uneven places, the ſame party being ſometimes hot in the purſuit, and ſometimes flying as faſt; each general commanded out ſuccours from his camp, as he ſaw his own men preſſed and giving ground; till at length the ſky clearing up, they diſcovered all that paſſed; upon which

* Polybius takes no notice of this particular; and Livy, who tells us that Philip mounted on an eminence, does not mention that ſuperſtitious reflection.

the whole armies became engaged. Philip, who was in the right wing, from the riſing ground advanced with his whole phalanx againſt the Romans, the braveſt of whom could not withſtand the force of their united ſhields and their projected ſpears. But the left wing being, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground, ſeparated and broken, Titus obſerving it, and having little or no hopes on that ſide where his army gave ground, made haſte to the other, and there charged the Macedonians, who, on account of the inequality and roughneſs of the country, could not keep their body entire, nor line their ranks to any great depth, (in which their principal ſtrength conſiſted), but were forced to fight man to man, under heavy and unwieldy armour. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous ſtrength, while it is united in one body, and locked cloſe together ſhield to ſhield; but, if once broken, every ſingle ſoldier that compoſed it, loſes of his own private ſtrength, from the nature of their armour; and beſides, each of them is ſtrong, rather as among the reſt he makes a part of the whole, than in his ſingle perſon *. When theſe were routed, ſome gave chace to the fugitives, others charged thoſe Macedonians in flank who were ſtill fighting; ſo that the victorious wing was quickly broken and put to flight, and the men threw down their arms. There were then ſlain no leſs than eight thouſand, and about five thouſand were taken priſoners. It was chiefly owing to the Ætolians that Philip himſelf eſcaped: for whilſt the Romans were yet in purſuit, they fell to ravaging and plundering the camp, ſo that when the others returned they found no booty remaining. This from the firſt occaſioned quarrels and reproaches betwixt them. But afterwards they galled

* Plutarch takes no notice of the elephants which Flamininus made uſe of with good ſucceſs in this engagement. They are mentioned both by Polybius and Livy.

Titus

Titus ſtill more, in aſcribing the victory to themſelves, and prepoſſeſſing the Grecians with reports on their own behalf; inſomuch that their poets, and the common people in the ſongs that were ſung or written concerning this action, ſtill ranked the Ætolians foremoſt: but the verſes that were moſt in every body's mouth were theſe:

See thrice ten thouſand brave Theſſalians ſlain,
Unwept, unburied, on this fatal plain.
The fierce Ætolians, and the Latian hoſt,
By Titus led, this bloody conqueſt boaſt.
Emathia's ſcourge! before whoſe hoſtile might
More ſwift than hinds bold Philip urg'd his flight.

This was compoſed by Alcæus to inſult Philip, though indeed he belied him in it as to the number of the ſlain. However being frequently repeated, and by almoſt every body, Titus was more mortified at it than Philip; for the latter in return ridiculed Alcæus in theſe verſes:

On yon high mountain, ſtranger, doſt thou mark
That tree ſo lofty, without leaves or bark?
That tree a gibbet for Alcæus ſtands;
For ſuch reward Alcæus' verſe demands.

But theſe things gave great uneaſineſs to Titus, who was very ambitious of acquiring a reputation among the Grecians; he therefore managed every thing afterwards by himſelf, and paid very little regard to the Ætolians. This highly offended them; and when Titus liſtened to terms of accommodation, and had admitted of an embaſſy from the Macedonian king, the Ætolians exclaimed in all the cities of Greece, that he ſold this peace to Philip, and that at a time when it was in his power to have put a final period to the war, and to have laid waſte that empire which firſt put the yoke of ſervitude upon Greece. But whilſt, with theſe and the like rumours, the Ætolians laboured to ſhake the Ro-

man confederates, Philip ſuing for peace, and ſubmitting himſelf and kingdom to the diſcretion of Titus and the Romans, removed thoſe jealouſies. Thus Titus put an end to the war. He reinſtated Philip in his kingdom of Macedon, but injoined him at the ſame time to quit Greece, and fined him a thouſand talents; he alſo took from him all his ſhipping, except ten veſſels, and ſent away Demetrius, one of his ſons, hoſtage to Rome. By this prudent conduct he made the beſt advantage of the preſent ſtate of affairs, and likewiſe provided for futurity. For Hannibal the African, a profeſſed enemy to the Romans, and an exile from his own country, having not long ſince arrived at King Antiochus's court, exhorted that prince to improve the fortune that had been hitherto ſo propitious to him *. For his arms as yet had never failed of ſucceſs, and the grandeur of his actions had procured him the ſurname of *Great*; inſomuch that he began to aim at univerſal monarchy, but above all, was deſirous to make ſome attempt upon the Romans. Had not therefore Titus upon a principle of prudence and foreſight lent an ear to peace †, had Antiochus found the Romans engaged with Philip in Greece, and had theſe two princes, who were the greateſt and moſt powerful of that age, confederated for their common intereſt againſt the Roman ſtate, Rome might once more have been expoſed to the ſame hazard, and reduced to the

* Plutarch muſt be miſtaken here, for Hannibal was not at that time in the court of Antiochus. The peace was made with Philip, and the liberty of Greece proclaimed by the voice of a herald in the Iſthmian games, in the firſt year of the 146th Olympiad, during the conſulſhip of Lucius Furius Purpureo and Marcus Claudius Marcellus; and it was not till the year following, under the conſulate of Cato and Valerius Flaccus, that Hannibal came to the court of Antiochus.

† Polybius tells us, Flamininus was induced to conclude a peace with Philip upon the advice he had received, that Antiochus was marching out of Syria at the head of a powerful army, and that he was advancing towards Europe. And he was afraid leſt Philip might lay hold on that conjuncture to continue the war.

ſame

ſame extremities as ſhe had been by Hannibal. But now Titus opportunely interpoſing this peace between the wars, and removing thereby the preſent danger, before that which was but in expectation appeared, at once diſappointed Antiochus of his firſt hopes, and Philip of his laſt refuge. In the mean time the ten commiſſioners delegated to Titus from the ſenate, adviſed him to reſtore the reſt of Greece to liberty, but to keep garriſons in Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, as a ſecurity againſt Antiochus. But the Ætolians, always noted for calumny, took from thence an occaſion to raiſe commotions in the cities, calling upon Titus to knock off the ſhackles of Greece; (for ſo Philip uſed to term the aforeſaid three cities). They aſked the Grecians, *Whether it were not matter of much conſolation to them, that, though their chains weighed heavier, yet they were now neater and better poliſhed than formerly? Whether Titus were not deſervedly admired by them as their benefactor, who had unſhackled the feet of Greece, and tied her up by the neck?* Titus vexed hereat, made it his requeſt to the council, and at laſt prevailed in it, that the garriſons in theſe cities ſhould be removed, that ſo the Grecians might be indebted to him, not for a partial but entire favour. Juſt at this time the Iſthmian games were celebrated, and multitudes ſat crouded in the theatre to ſee the exerciſes; for Greece, who at laſt found reſpite from war, and was in full poſſeſſion of peace, and entertained farther hopes of regaining her liberty too, ſeemed to keep holyday for it. While theſe games were celebrating, ſilence was commanded by ſound of trumpet; and the crier, ſtepping forth amidſt the ſpectators, made proclamation, *That the Roman ſenate, and Titus Quintius the proconſular general, having vanquiſhed King Philip and the Macedonians, reſtored the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, Achæans, Phthiotæ, Magneſians, Theſſalians, and Perræbians, to their liberty; took off all impoſitions*

upon them, and withdrew their garriſons. At firſt, many heard not at all, and others not diſtinctly what was ſaid; but there was a ſtrange murmur and commotion in the theatre, ſome wondering, ſome aſking, ſome calling out to the crier to repeat it again. When therefore ſilence was again commanded, the crier raiſing his voice, his ſpeech more eaſily reached the ears of the whole aſſembly. The ſhout, which they gave in that ecſtaſy of joy, was ſo incredibly great that it was heard as far as the ſea. The people all roſe up, there was no further regard paid to the diverſions they came for, but all eagerly embraced one another, and ſaluted Titus *as the ſaviour and defender of Greece.* The hyperbolical accounts that have often been given of the ſtrength there is in voices, and of the wonderful effects of it, were verified upon this occaſion: for the crows that were then accidentally flying over the ſtage, fell down dead upon the ſhout. The breaking the air muſt needs be the cauſe of this; for the voices being numerous, and the acclamation violent, the parts of the air were ſeparated from each other, and a void ſpace was left which could give no ſupport to the birds; unleſs we ſhould rather imagine theſe crows to fall and die, ſhot with the noiſe as with a dart. Perhaps too there might be a circular agitation of the air, juſt as a whirlpool is produced in the ſea by the violence of a ſtorm.

As for Titus, (the ſports being now quite at an end), he was ſo beſet on every ſide, and by ſuch multitudes, that had he not, obſerving the throng and concourſe of the people, timely withdrawn, he would ſcarce, it is thought, have ever got clear of them. But when they had tired themſelves with acclamations all about his pavilion, and night was now come, whatever friends or fellow-citizens they ſaw, they kiſſed and embraced them, and then retired to ſpend the evening in feaſting and mirth. Then, no doubt, redoubling their joy, they began

to

to recollect and talk of the ſtate of Greece, ſaying, *That though ſhe had been engaged in ſo many wars in defence of her liberty, yet it was never more pleaſant or ſecure than now when it was obtained by the arms of others: that ſhe now enjoyed, even without bloodſhed and mourning, that prize which is of all others the moſt glorious and beſt worth contending for: that courage and wiſdom were indeed rare amongſt men; but that of all good things juſtice was the moſt rare. For though ſuch men as Ageſilaus, Lyſander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to act the general's part, how to manage a war, and how to bring off their men victorious by land and ſea; yet they knew not how to employ their ſucceſs to generous and noble purpoſes; for excepting the battles of Marathon, Salamin, Platææ, and Thermopylæ, and Cimon's exploits at Eurymedon, and on the coaſts of Cyprus, Greece fought all her other battles againſt and to enſlave herſelf; ſhe erected all her trophies to her own ſhame and miſery, and was brought to ruin and deſolation by the villany and ambition of her rulers. But a foreign nation, which could at beſt be ſuppoſed to retain only a faint remembrance of its ancient deſcent from us *, a nation from which Greece could not expect any friendly thoughts and deſigns, nor any expreſſion of kindneſs even in words, has retrieved Greece from her ſevereſt preſſures, and deepeſt extremities, has reſcued her out of the hands of inſulting tyrants, and reinſtated her in her former liberties.*

Thus they employed their tongues and thoughts, whilſt Titus's actions made good what had been proclaimed: for he immediately diſpatched away Lentulus to Aſia, to ſet the Bargylians free; and Titillius † to Thrace, to ſee the garriſons of Philip removed out of the towns and iſlands there. Publius Villius ſet ſail in order to treat with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him.

* According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, Rome was peopled at firſt chiefly from thoſe Grecian colonies which had ſettled in Italy before the time of Romulus.

† Livy and Polybius call him *Lucius Stertinius*.

Titus

Titus himſelf paſſed on to Chalcis, and ſailing thence to Magneſia, he expelled the garriſons there, and ſurrendered the government into the people's hands. At Argos he was choſen judge or moderator of the Nemean games, and executed his office to the entire ſatisfaction of all preſent. There he made a ſecond publication by the crier of liberty to the Grecians: and ſtill through all the cities as he paſſed, he preſſed upon them conformity to their laws, a conſtant practice of juſtice, and unity and friendſhip with each other. The ſeditious among them he quelled, the baniſhed he brought home; and in ſhort, his conqueſt over the Macedonians, gave him not a more ſenſible pleaſure, than his ſucceſs in reconciling Greeks with Greeks; ſo that their liberty ſeemed now the leaſt part of the kindneſs he conferred upon them.

It is ſaid, that when Lycurgus the orator had reſcued Xenocrates the philoſopher from the collectors who were hurrying him away to priſon for the Metæcia, (taxes which were paid by ſtrangers reſiding at Athens), and proſecuted them at law for the affront offered to the philoſopher, he afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, ſaid, *Children, I have made a noble return to your father for the ſervice he did me; for all men praiſe him upon my account.* But the returns which attended Titus and the Romans for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in empty praiſes only; for their empire by theſe means was greatly enlarged, and they deſervedly gained the eſteem and confidence of all nations, many of whom not only admitted the governors ſet over them by Rome, but even ſent and entreated to be under the Roman government. Neither was this done only by commonwealths and cities; but kings oppreſſed by kings caſt themſelves into their protection. So that in a very ſhort time (though perhaps not without a divine interpoſition) the whole world became ſubject to them. Titus alſo valued himſelf

himſelf moſt of all upon the liberty he reſtored to Greece; for having dedicated ſome ſilver targets together with his own ſhield, at Delphi, he inſcribed upon them the following verſes:

Ye kings who joy the courſer's ſpeed to prove,
Ye Spartan twins of Tyndarus and Jove;
To you Flaminius of Æneas' line
Preſents fair liberty, a gift divine.
When Greece deſpair'd in ſlav'ry's galling yoke,
A Roman hand th' opprobrious bondage broke.

He offered alſo to Apollo a golden crown, with this inſcription on it:

Bright God of day! the mighty chief who leads
Æneas' progeny to martial deeds,
Gives for thy locks ambroſial and divine
This crown which bands of radiant gold entwine.
Far-ſhooting God! diſtinguiſh Titus' name
With all the glory that his virtues claim.

The ſame thing has twice happened to the Grecians in the city of Corinth: for Titus then, and Nero again in our days, both at Corinth, and both at the celebration of the Iſthmian games, gave liberty to the Grecians, and the right of governing themſelves by their own laws. The former (as hath been ſaid) proclaimed it by the crier; but Nero did it in the public aſſembly, from the tribunal, in an oration he there made to the people. But this happened long after. Titus after this commenced a glorious and juſt war againſt Nabis, that moſt profligate and cruel tyrant of the Lacedæmonians; but herein at laſt he diſappointed the expectations of the Grecians. For when he had an opportunity of taking him, he would not make uſe of it, but concluded a peace with him, leaving Sparta ſtill miſerably enſlaved. Whether he feared, that if the war ſhould be protracted, Rome would ſend a new general

general who might rob him of the glory of it *; or whether he envied the reputation of Philopœmen, a man who had ſignalized himſelf among the Grecians upon all other occaſions, but in that war eſpecially had given wonderful proofs both of his courage and his prudence; one whom the Grecians celebrated in their theatres, and honoured equally with Titus: for he ſcorned that an Arcadian, who had commanded only in a few combats upon the confines of his own country, ſhould be looked on by them with as much admiration as the Roman conſul, who fought on the behalf of all Greece. Titus, however, ſaid in his excuſe, that he put an end to the war only then, when he foreſaw that the tyrant's deſtruction muſt have been attended with the ruin of the other Spartans.

The Achæans indeed decreed many honours to Titus, but none ſeemed equal to the greatneſs of his ſervices, unleſs it were one preſent which pleaſed him beyond all the reſt. It was this: The Romans, who in the war with Hannibal had the misfortune to be taken captives, were ſold as ſlaves, and diſperſed in various places; twelve hundred of them were at that time in Greece. That turn of their fortune always rendered them objects of compaſſion, but more particularly then, as well it might, when ſome met their ſons, ſome their brothers, ſome their acquaintance, who were freemen and conquerors, while they themſelves were ſlaves and

* Livy gives this reaſon, but at the ſame time mentions others that are more for the honour of Flamininus. Winter was coming on, and Sparta was to be beſieged, which might hold out a conſiderable time; the enemy's country could ſupply him with nothing, for all had been laid waſte; ſo that proviſions were to be ſent for a great way off, and it would be very difficult to get convoys. Beſides, Villius, who was juſt returned from the court of Antiochus, brought advice, that the peace with that prince was not to be depended upon, for that he was already entered Europe with a fleet, and land-army more numerous than before. If therefore a rupture ſhould happen whilſt the Romans were employed in the ſiege of Sparta, what forces had they to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy?

captives.

captives. Titus, though deeply concerned for them, yet took none of them from their maſters by conſtraint. But the Achæans redeeming them at five minæ each, brought them all together into one place, and made a preſent of them to him, as he was juſt going on ſhipboard; ſo that he now ſailed away with the higheſt ſatisfaction; his generous actions having procured him as generous returns, worthy of ſo brave a man, and ſuch a lover of his country. This ſeemed the moſt pompous part of all his ſucceeding triumph; for theſe redeemed Romans, as it is the cuſtom of ſlaves upon their manumiſſion to ſhave their heads, and wear a peculiar kind of caps, followed in that habit Titus's triumphal chariot. But to add to the ſplendour of this ſhow, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and ſpears, and the reſt of the ſpoils borne along in pomp before him, beſide vaſt ſums of money; for, as Itanus relates it, there were carried in his triumph three thouſand ſeven hundred thirteen pounds weight of unwrought gold, forty-three thouſand two hundred and ſeventy of ſilver, fourteen thouſand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold called *philipics*; beſide which Philip owed a thouſand talents; though the Romans were afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Titus, to remit this debt, withal declaring Philip their ally and confederate, and ſending him home his ſon who had been delivered to them as an hoſtage.

After this, Antiochus made an expedition into Greece with a numerous fleet, and a powerful army, ſoliciting the cities there to ſedition and rebellion. In this he was aſſiſted by the Ætolians, who had long borne an enmity to the Romans, and now ſuggeſted as a cauſe and pretext for the war, that he came to bring the Grecians liberty; whereas they never leſs wanted it, for they were free before; but, for want of a more ſpecious pretence, they inſtructed

ſtructed him to colour his enterpriſe with this ſplendid name. The Romans, fearing the revolt of the Grecians and the power of Antiochus, ſent the conſul Manius Atilius to take the charge of the war, and appointed Titus * his lieutenant out of regard to the Grecians. At his firſt arrival he confirmed the fidelity of ſuch of them as were friends to the Romans; and the defection of ſuch as began to waver was prevented by the good-will they bore him, as a diſeaſe is checked in its infancy by timely remedies. Some few there were whom the Ætolians had beforehand ſo wholly tainted and perverted, that all his endeavours were ineffectual with them; yet theſe, howſoever angry and exaſperated he was againſt them before, he ſaved and protected, when the engagement was over. For Antiochus, receiving a defeat at Thermopylæ, not only fled the field, but hoiſted ſail inſtantly for Aſia. Upon this Manius the conſul laid ſiege himſelf to ſome of the Ætolians; others he abandoned to King Philip. Thus the Dolopians and Magneſians on one hand, and the Athamanians and Aperantians on the other, were haraſſed by the Macedonians, whilſt Manius laid waſte Heraclea, and beſieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Titus being touched with compaſſion for Greece, came from Peloponneſus to the conſul. At firſt he reproached him for ſuffering Philip to reap the whole profit of the war, though he himſelf had gained the victory, and for ſpending his time in the ſiege of a ſingle town, merely to gratify his anger, whilſt the Macedonians over-ran ſeveral nations and kingdoms. Titus happened to ſtand then in view of the beſieged; they no ſooner ſaw him, but they called to him from their wall, and ſtretching forth their hands, implored his favour. He made them no reply, but turning about with tears in his

* According to Livy it was not Titus, but Lucius Quintius Flaminius.

eyes,

eyes, he went away. However, ſome time after he diſcourſed on the ſubject ſo effectually with Manius, that he calmed his paſſion, and prevailed with him to grant a truce to the Ætolians, and to give them time to ſend deputies to Rome to petition the ſenate for favourable terms. But the hardeſt taſk, and that which put Titus to the greateſt difficulty, was to intercede with Manius for the Chalcidians, who had incenſed him by a marriage, which Antiochus had ſolemniſed in their city even after the war was begun; a match every way unſuitable as well as unſeaſonable, for he was far advanced in years, and the bride very young. She was the daughter of Cleoptolemus, and a perſon of incomparable beauty. On this occaſion the Chalcidians both embraced the king's intereſt with zeal and alacrity, and yielded him their city for his retreat during the war. Antiochus therefore after his defeat fled to Chalcis; and taking his bride, his money, and his friends with him, ſailed from thence to Aſia. And now, Manius's indignation carrying him in all haſte againſt the Chalcidians, Titus followed him, endeavouring to appeaſe his reſentment; and at length by force of entreaties to him, and by a ſedulous application to others of the greateſt quality and intereſt in Rome, he ſucceeded.

The Chalcidians thus deriving their ſafety from Titus, dedicated to him all the beſt and moſt magnificent of their public ſtructures; and theſe inſcriptions may be ſeen upon them to this day. *The people dedicate this gymnaſium to Titus and to Hercules*; and again, *The people conſecrate the place called* Delphinium *to Titus and to Apollo.* And what is yet more, even to our time, there is a prieſt of Titus formally elected and declared; and when they ſacrifice to him, after the libations are over, they ſing a hymn to his honour, the greateſt part of which for the length of it we omit, but ſhall tranſcribe the concluſion of it, which is this;

The ſons of Rome with joy we truſt;
To all their vows minutely juſt.
To Jove ye muſes raiſe the ſong;
To Jove and Rome your ſtrains belong;
The Roman faith and Titus ſing;
Io Titus! Saviour! King!

Other parts of Greece alſo heaped honours upon him ſuitable to his merits; but that which rendered theſe honours truly valuable, was the ſincere affection of the people who beſtowed them, which he had gained by his moderation and equity. For if he were ever at variance with any one upon the account of buſineſs, or through emulation and ambition, (as once with Philopœmen, and another time with Diophanes, general of the Achæans), his reſentment went not far, nor did it ever break out into acts; but when it had vented itſelf in a freedom of diſcourſe which is uſual in public debates, there was an end of it. No one ever found him revengeful and implacable, though he often ſhowed himſelf haſty and paſſionate; but otherwiſe he was a moſt agreeable companion, and in his converſation a great deal of wit and pleaſantry was joined with good ſenſe. For inſtance, deſigning once to divert the Achæans from their purpoſe of conquering the iſland of Zacynthus, *It will*, ſaid he, *be as dangerous for the Achæans to put their head out of Peloponneſus, as it is for a tortoiſe to truſt his out of his ſhell.* When he and Philip firſt met to treat of a peace, the latter complaining *that Titus came with a numerous train, but himſelf came alone: Yes*, replied Titus, *you have made yourſelf alone, by killing all your friends and relations.* At another time, Dinocrates the Meſſenian, having drank to exceſs at a feaſt in Rome, danced there in a woman's habit, and the next day applied to Titus for aſſiſtance in his deſign to get Meſſene out of the Achæans hands. *I ſhall*, ſays he, *conſider of it; but I wonder that you who are form-*

ing deſigns of ſuch moment, can ſing and dance at a feaſt. When the ambaſſadors of Antiochus were recounting to the Achæans the number of their maſter's forces, and mentioning all the different names by which they were diſtinguiſhed, *I ſupped once,* ſays Titus, *with a friend, and could not but chide him for the number of diſhes he had prepared; and withal I admired whence he had ſo readily furniſhed himſelf with that variety;* my friend anſwered, *All this is nothing but pork, only the ſauce and cookery has made it look like different ſorts of food. In the ſame manner, O Achæans, I ſay to you, be not aſtoniſhed at the power of Antiochus, when you hear of pikemen, halberdiers, and cuiraſſiers, for they are all but Syrians differently armed.*

After theſe exploits in Greece, and the concluſion of the war with Antiochus, Titus was created cenſor. This is an office of the higheſt dignity, and in a manner the chief preferment in the commonwealth. The ſon of Marcellus who had been five times conſul, was his colleague. They expelled four of the ſenators, but they were not men of conſiderable note. They admitted all that offered themſelves to the right of Roman citizens, provided their parents were free perſons. But this was more by conſtraint than their own choice; for Terentius Culeo, then tribune of the people, out of oppoſition to the nobility, perſuaded the populace to order it to be done. The two moſt eminent and powerful men in the city at this time were Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, who were at variance with each other: the former Titus made preſident of the ſenate, as a man who ſurpaſſed all others in dignity and virtue; but he became an enemy to Cato upon the following unhappy occaſion. Titus had a brother, Lucius Flaminius, whoſe diſpoſition was in all reſpects unlike his, and who was extremely diſſolute and licentious in his pleaſures, and paid no regard to decency. There was a youth whom he loved for a vitious purpoſe, and carried

with him every where, even when he was commander of an army or governor of a province. One day as they were drinking at table, the boy fondly ſaid to Lucius; *I love you, Sir, ſo dearly, that, preferring your ſatisfaction before my own, I have forborn ſeeing the gladiators, though I have never ſeen a man killed in my life.* Lucius delighted with what the boy ſaid, replied, *Let not that trouble thee, for if thou haſt a mind to ſee a man killed, I will quickly ſatisfy thy longing*; and immediately ordered a condemned man to be fetched out of the priſon, and the executioner to be ſent for, whom he commanded to ſtrike off the malefactor's head in the midſt of their jollity, before they roſe from table. Valerius Antias varies the ſtory a little, and tells us, that Lucius did not this to gratify a boy, but a miſtreſs. But Livy, out of the oration of Cato, relates it, that a Gaul, who had been a deſerter, coming with his wife and children to the door, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and killed him with his own hand, to gratify his paramour. Cato, it is probable, might ſay this to aggravate the crime he ſtood charged with: but that the ſlain was no ſuch fugitive, but a priſoner, and one condemned to die, is aſſerted by many writers, and particularly by Cicero in his treatiſe of old age, where he brings in Cato himſelf giving that account of the matter. Upon this account, Cato, who in his cenſorſhip was ſolicitous to remove all ſcandalous perſons from the ſenate, expelled Lucius, though he had been conſul. His brother looked upon this as a proceeding that reflected diſhonour upon himſelf. Hereupon both of them came out, and appealed to the people in a ſubmiſſive manner, with tears in their eyes, requeſting that Cato might only ſhow the reaſon of his fixing ſuch a ſtain upon ſo honourable a family. The citizens thought it a juſt requeſt; and Cato without any heſitation came out, and ſtanding up with his colleague, interrogated Titus whether he

knew the ſtory of the feaſt. Titus anſwering in the negative, Cato gave him an account of it, and bid Lucius declare upon oath whether it was true or not. Lucius made no reply; whereupon the people determined the diſgrace to be juſt, and honourably attended Cato home from the tribunal. But Titus ſo deeply reſented his brother's diſgrace, that he joined with thoſe who had long been enemies to Cato: and winning over a major part of the ſenate to him, he revoked and annulled all the contracts, leaſes, and bargains, made formerly by Cato, relating to the public revenues, and ſtirred up many and violent proſecutions againſt him. But I will not determine whether he acted wiſely and well in preſerving an inveterate hatred againſt a lawful magiſtrate, and a good citizen, for the ſake of a man who was indeed related to him, but unworthy to be ſo, and who had ſuffered no more than he deſerved. But notwithſtanding all this, when afterwards a ſhow was exhibited to the people in the theatre, and the ſenators were ſitting as uſual in the upper ſeats according to their rank, Lucius was ſeen below in a mean diſhonourable place. This made an impreſſion upon the people, who could not endure the ſight, but continually called to him to go higher, till he was got among thoſe of conſular dignity, who received him into their ſeat.

The natural ambition of Titus was generally applauded, whilſt the wars we have given a relation of afforded proper occaſion to exerciſe it; for even after the expiration of his conſulſhip he accepted of a military tribuneſhip, though nobody preſſed it upon him. But when he was out of all employ in the government, and far advanced in years, he was highly cenſured for retaining ſtill his violent thirſt for fame, and indulging a youthful heat and impetuoſity in that inactive ſeaſon of life. To ſome ſuch tranſport, it is thought, his behaviour to Hannibal was owing, which loſt him the love and eſteem

of many *. For Hannibal having fled his country, firſt took ſanctuary with Antiochus; but he having been glad to make a peace after the battle in Phrygia, Hannibal was obliged to ſhift for himſelf by a ſecond flight, and after wandering through many countries, fixed at length in Bithynia at the court of Pruſias. All the Romans knew where he was; but they looked upon him with contempt as a man enfeebled by age, and one whom fortune had quite caſt off. Titus, coming ambaſſador thither, and (though he was ſent from the ſenate to Pruſias upon another errand) ſeeing Hannibal there, could not endure that he ſhould be ſuffered to live. And though Pruſias uſed much interceſſion and many entreaties in favour of him, as an acquaintance, a friend, and a ſuppliant who had implored his protection, Titus was not to be entreated. There was an ancient oracle, it ſeems, which propheſied thus of Hannibal's end;

Libyſſan earth ſhall Hannibal incloſe.

He interpreted this to be meant of Libya, and imagined that he was to end his days at Carthage. But there is a ſandy place in Bithynia, bordering on the ſea, and near that a little village called *Libyſſa*. Hither Hannibal chanced to retire; and having ever from the beginning diſtruſted the eaſy and ductile nature of Pruſias, and feared the reſentment of the Romans, he had long before ordered ſeven ſubterraneous paſſages to be dug under his houſe; theſe were continued a great way under ground, and terminated in ſeveral different places, but were all undiſcernible from without. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard that Titus had ordered him to be taken,

* Plutarch muſt have miſtaken that time, and have ſuppoſed this embaſſy to Pruſias to have been many years later than it was. It was not on account of his age that Flamininus was condemned for his tranſport and bitterneſs againſt Hannibal, but for the cruelty and indignity of the action; for at that time he was no more than forty-four years old.

he

he attempted through theſe caves to make his eſcape; but finding them beſet with the king's guards, he reſolved to kill himſelf. Some ſay, that winding his cloak about his neck, he commanded his ſervant to ſet his knee againſt his back, and not ceaſe from twiſting and pulling it, till he had quite ſtrangled him. But others ſay, he drank bulls-blood, after the example of Themiſtocles and Midas. Livy writes, that he had poiſon in readineſs, which he mixed for the purpoſe, and that taking the cup into his hand, he ſaid, *Let us eaſe the Romans of their continual dread and care, ſince they think it long and tedious to wait the death of an hated old man. Yet ſhall not Titus gain a conqueſt worth envying, nor a reputation equal to that of his predeceſſors, who ſent to caution Pyrrhus, an enemy, and conqueror too, againſt the poiſon prepared for him by traitors.* Thus various are the reports of Hannibal's death. But when the news of it came to the ſenators ears, it raiſed indignation in many of them againſt Titus; and they blamed his officiouſneſs as well as his cruelty; for when there was neither any reaſon of ſtate, nor other circumſtance to require it, he out of a prepoſterous affectation of glory, and to raiſe himſelf a name as the deſtroyer of Hannibal, put him to death, though at that time, like a bird that has loſt his wings and tail through age, he was let alone to live quietly and tamely. They now more than ever admired and extolled the clemency and generoſity of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquiſhed Hannibal in Africa, who till then was terrible and invincible, he neither baniſhed him his country, nor required his countrymen to do it. Nay, at a parly juſt before they joined battle, Scipio embraced him; and in the peace made after it, he put no hard conditions upon him, nor inſulted over his misfortune. It is reported that they had another meeting at Epheſus, and as they were walking together, Hannibal induſtriouſly took the upper-

hand;

hand; Africanus took no notice of it, but walked on without the leaſt concern. Afterward they began to talk of generals; and when Hannibal affirmed, that Alexander was the greateſt commander the world had ever ſeen, that Pyrrhus was the ſecond, and himſelf the third, Africanus, with a gentle ſmile, aſked, *What would you have ſaid, if I had never vanquiſhed you? Scipio*, (ſays he), *I would not then have reckoned myſelf the third, but the firſt commander.* The generality of the Romans recollecting and mentioning with admiration this behaviour of Scipio, were the more incenſed againſt Titus, whom they conſidered as one who had taken the ſpoils of an enemy that had been ſlain by another. There were ſome, however, who applauded the action, and who looked upon Hannibal while living as a fire which wanted only bellows to blow it into a flame. For when he was in the prime and vigour of his age, it was not his body nor his hand that ſtruck terror into the Romans, but his experience and ſkill in martial affairs, joined with an innate malice and inveterate rancour againſt the Roman name, which age could not impair. For the natural temper and bent of the ſoul always remains the ſame; and as fortune is continually changing, ſhe tempts with new hopes of ſucceſs, all ſuch whom hatred and revenge keep habitually diſpoſed for war. And what followed not long after, contributed ſtill further to the juſtification of Titus. For firſt, Ariſtonicus, the ſon of a muſician's daughter, upon the reputation of being the natural ſon of Eumenes, filled all Aſia with tumults and rebellion. And Mithridates, after a total rout given him by Sylla and Fimbria, and ſo vaſt a ſlaughter, both of his officers and common ſoldiers, made head again againſt Lucullus with a powerful army both by ſea and land. Beſides, Hannibal was never reduced to ſo contemptible a ſtate as Caius Marius; for he ſtill enjoyed the friendſhip of a king, a ſubſiſtence under him, and the

the acquaintance and converſation of the officers employed in the fleet and army of Pruſias. Whereas the condition of Marius was ſo deſpicable, that he was looked upon by the Romans with laughter and contempt, whilſt he wandered as a beggar about Africa; and yet a little after, when in their own ſtreets their backs were expoſed to the rods, and their necks to the axe, they proſtrated themſelves before the ſame Marius. So that there is nothing either great or little at this moment which will hold ſo to all futurity; and then only do we ceaſe to experience the mutability of fortune, when we ceaſe to live. Some therefore tell us, that Titus did not this of himſelf, but that he was joined in commiſſion with Lucius Scipio, and that the whole deſign of the embaſſy was to effect Hannibal's death. But ſince we find no further mention in hiſtory of any thing done by Titus, either in war, or in the adminiſtration of the government, and only know that he died a natural death, it is time to conſider him as he ſtands in compariſon with Philopœmen.

The Compariſon of T. Q. Flaminius with Philopœmen.

FIrſt, if we conſider the extenſiveneſs of the benefits conferred by Titus on Greece, we ſhall find that neither Philopœmen, nor many greater men than he, are able to ſtand in competition with him. For they were all Greeks warring againſt Greeks: whereas Flaminius, though himſelf no Greek, fought in defence of Grecians. And at a time when Philopœmen, unable to aſſiſt his fellow-citizens, who were cloſely beſieged, and reduced to the laſt extremity, paſſed over into Crete, then did Titus, by a defeat given to Philip in the heart of Greece,

Greece, ſet both them and all their cities free. Again, if we examine into the battles fought by each of them; Philopœmen, whilſt he was general of the Achæans, ſlew more Grecians, than Titus, in aiding the Grecians, ſlew Macedonians. As to their failings, ambition was Titus's infirmity, and obſtinacy Philopœmen's: in the former, anger was eaſily kindled; in the latter, it was as hardly quenched. For Titus after he had conquered Philip left him in poſſeſſion of his royal dignity; beſides, he pardoned the Ætolians, and became their friend again: but Philopœmen, exaſperated againſt his own countrymen, took from them the contributions which were paid by the adjacent towns. Titus was ever conſtant to thoſe he had once befriended; the other, upon any provocation, was ready to deſtroy the merit of his former kindneſſes; for he who had before been a benefactor to the Lacedæmonians, afterwards laid their walls level with the ground, waſted their country, and in the end changed and overturned the whole frame of their government. He ſeems, indeed, to have needleſsly thrown away his life through paſſion and perverſeneſs; for he fell upon the Meſſenians unſeaſonably and with too great eagerneſs, not with that conduct and caution with which Titus led on his men. But by the many battles he fought, and the many trophies he won, he acquired a more conſummate experience: for Titus decided the conteſt betwixt Philip and him in two engagements; but Philopœmen came off victorious in numberleſs battles; ſo that his ſucceſs was apparently owing to his own ſkill and conduct, and not to fortune. Beſides, Titus got his renown by making uſe of the forces of a great and flouriſhing ſtate; whereas the other acquired his under the decline of Greece; ſo that Philopœmen's glory was entirely his own; but Rome ſhared in the glory of Titus. The one had brave men under his command; the other render-

ed

ed thoſe brave whom he commanded: and if the great actions of Philopœmen, which were performed againſt the Greeks, will not prove him a fortunate man, they will prove him a brave man; for when all other things are equal, great ſucceſs muſt be owing to ſuperior virtue. He was engaged with the two moſt warlike nations of all Greece, the Cretans and the Lacedæmonians; and the craftieſt of them he maſtered by art and ſubtilty, the braveſt he ſubdued by valour. Beſides, Titus had his men armed and diſciplined to his hand; whereas Philopœmen was forced to introduce a new diſcipline, and to new-model his ſoldiery. Thus that which is of greateſt moment in gaining a victory was the invention of the one, whilſt the other only practiſed what was already in uſe. As to perſonal exploits, there are many of Philopœmen's, none of Flaminius's. Inſomuch that one Archedemus, an Ætolian, in raillery told him, *That whereas Philopœmen ran with his drawn ſword where he ſaw the Macedonians ſtanding firm and fighting bravely, Titus ſtood ſtill, and with his hands open and ſtretched out to heaven, prayed to the gods for aid.* It is true, Titus acquitted himſelf well, both as a governor, and as an ambaſſador; but Philopœmen was no leſs ſerviceable to the Achæans as a private man, than as a commander. For when he was general he reſtored the Meſſenians to their liberty, and delivered their city from Nabis. But when he reſcued the Lacedæmonians, and ſhut the gates of Sparta againſt the general Diophanes and Titus, who would have entered it, he was then but a private perſon. He had a nature ſo formed for command, that, when occaſion ſerved, or the public good required it, he knew how to govern the laws themſelves, and would not always ſuffer himſelf to be governed by them; for he waited not the formality of being elected into command by the governed, but would confer a command upon himſelf, and expect to be ſerved if the caſe required it;

believing,

believing, on ſuch occaſions, him to be truly the general who conſulted and underſtood their intereſts, not him who was choſen to the employment. In fine, the equity, clemency, and humanity of Titus towards the Grecians, are proofs of a great and generous mind; but the reſolution of Philopœmen, in aſſerting his country's liberty againſt the Romans, is ſomething ſtill greater. For it is not a taſk of ſuch difficulty, to relieve the diſtreſſed, as it is to oppoſe and moleſt the powerful. Upon the whole, when we compare them together, it is not eaſy to determine exactly the difference between them; but perhaps we ſhall not widely err if we give the preference to the Grecian for experience in military affairs, and ſkill in commanding an army, and to the Roman for juſtice and clemency.

THE

THE LIFE OF PYRRHUS.

SOme hiſtorians write that Phaeton was the firſt king after the deluge that reigned over the Threſprotæ and Moloſſians, and that he was one of thoſe who came with Pelaſgus into Epirus. Others tell us that Deucalion and Pyrrha having built a temple at Dodona *, ſettled there among the Moloſſians. In after-times Neoptolemus, the ſon of Achilles, tranſplanting a colony thither, poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe parts, and left a ſucceſſion of kings after him, named *Pyrrhidæ*; for in his youth he was called *Pyrrhus*; and he gave the ſame name to the eldeſt of his ſons by Lanaſſa †, the daughter of Cleodes ſon of Hyllus. From him Achilles came to have divine honours paid to him in Epirus, where he was worſhipped under the name of *Aſpetos* ‡. After theſe firſt kings thoſe that followed became ſo barbarous, and were both for their power and actions ſo obſcure, that there are not the leaſt footſteps of them to be found in hiſtory.

* By this account the temple of Jupiter at Dodona was the firſt that ever was built; but the Greeks have attributed that to Deucalion, which was not done till many years after.

† He had eight children by that princeſs, of whom Pyrrhus was the eldeſt; but he dying very young, his brother Pielus, who was the ſecond, ſucceeded his father.

‡ i. e. *Inimitable.*

Tharrytas * is ſaid to be the firſt who adorned his cities by introducing the Grecian cuſtoms, by encouraging learning, and eſtabliſhing good laws among his ſubjects; and by this means he became famous to poſterity. Alcetas was the ſon of Tharrytas, Arybas of Alcetas; and of Arybas and Troias his queen was born Æacides. He married Phthia the daughter of Menon the Theſſalian, who acquired much reputation in the Lamian war, and next to Leoſthenes had the greateſt authority among the confederates. Æacides had by his wife Phthia two daughters, Deidamia and Troias, and a ſon called *Pyrrhus*. Æacides was depoſed in an inſurrection of the Moloſſians, who ſet up the ſons of Neoptolemus the brother of Arybas, and murdered all the friends of Æacides that fell into their hands. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, eſcaped the ſearch of the aſſaſſins by the means of two faithful ſervants, Androclides and Angelus, who ſecured him in the very beginning of the troubles, and fled with a few domeſtics, and ſome women who were the child's nurſes. This train ſo retarded them in their flight, that they were ſoon overtaken by the enemy. In this extremity they committed the infant to the care of Androcleon, Hippias, and Meander, three young men of approved courage, ſtrength, and loyalty, directing them to continue their flight without ſtopping, till they reached Megara a town in Macedonia, whilſt they themſelves, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, ſtopt the courſe of the purſuers till near the evening; when having with much difficulty got clear of them, they haſtened to join thoſe who had the care of Pyrrhus. But the ſun being ready to ſet, when they thought themſelves near the accompliſhment of their hopes, they were on a ſudden diſappointed: for coming to

* Juſtin does not attribute this to Tharrytas, but to Arybas the ſon of Alcetas I. who had been educated at Athens.

the

the river that runs by the city, it looked very dreadful and rough; and endeavouring to paſs over, they found it was not fordable; for ſome late rains had ſwelled the water, and made the current very high and boiſterous. The darkneſs of the night added to the horror, ſo that they deſpaired of carrying over the child and the women that attended him, without ſome other aſſiſtance: wherefore perceiving ſome of the inhabitants of the place on the other ſide, they deſired them to aſſiſt their paſſage, and ſhowed them Pyrrhus, calling out aloud, and importuning them; but they could not hear for the noiſe and roaring of the water. Thus time was ſpent, whilſt thoſe on one ſide cried out as loud as they could, and the others endeavoured in vain to underſtand them. At laſt one of them recollecting himſelf, peeled off a piece of bark from an oak, and with the tongue of a buckle expreſſed on it the neceſſities and the fortunes of the child, and then rolling it about a ſtone, which was made uſe of to give force to the motion, threw it over to the other ſide. Some report they faſtened it to the end of a javelin, and darted it over. When they on the other ſhore had read what was on the bark, and conſidered the ſhortneſs of the time, they inſtantly cut down ſome trees, laſhed them together, and came over to them. It happened that he who firſt got aſhore was named *Achilles*. He took the prince in his arms, and conveyed him over, whilſt his companions performed the ſame ſervice to his followers. When they were thus got on the other ſide of the river, and out of the reach of their enemies, they continued their journey till they arrived at the court of Glaucias King of Illyria. They found this prince ſitting in his palace with the queen his conſort *, and laid the child down at his feet,

* Juſtin calls this princeſs *Beroa*, and ſays ſhe was of the race of the Æacidæ, which may be the reaſon why Glaucias's court was made choice of to be a ſanctuary for Pyrrhus.

imploring his protection. The king, who ſtood in fear of Caſſander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, remained a long time ſilent, conſidering what part he ſhould act. At laſt the child crawling towards him, and with his hands ſeizing on his robe, raiſed himſelf on his feet, and ſtood at the king's knees. This action at firſt provoked the king to laughter, but ſoon after touched him with compaſſion for the infant, who ſeemed to reſemble a ſuppliant imploring his protection with tears. Others ſay, he did not crawl towards Glaucias, but towards the altar of the Penates, and that raiſing himſelf up he ſpread his arms about it; which made Glaucias conſider the thing in a religious view, and imagine that the gods were intereſted in it. Wherefore taking up the child, he delivered him to the queen, and ordered that he ſhould be brought up with his own children. Some time after this his enemies ſent to demand him, and Caſſander offered the king two hundred talents provided he would deliver him into his hands; but Glaucias refuſed it, and when he was twelve years old conducted him to Epire at the head of an army, and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had in his countenance an air of majeſty more terrible than auguſt. The teeth in his upper jaw were not ſeparate, or diſtinct; but there was one continued bone, marked with ſmall lines, reſembling the diviſions of a row of teeth. It was a general belief that he could cure the ſwelling of the ſpleen by ſacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently preſſing the part affected, the patients lying on their backs for that purpoſe. Nor was any one ſo poor or inconſiderable, as to be denied this relief, if he deſired it. After the ſacrifice he accepted the cock as a reward; and that preſent was always moſt grateful to him. The great toe of that foot was ſaid to have a divine virtue; for, after his death, the reſt of the body being conſumed,

med, this was found unhurt and untouched by the fire. But of theſe things afterwards.

Being now about ſeventeen years of age, and the government being in appearance well ſettled, he took a journey out of the kingdom, to be preſent at the nuptials of one of Glaucias's ſons, with whom he had been educated. But the Moloſſians, in his abſence, rebelled again, turned out all of his party, rifled his exchequer, and gave themſelves up to Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus loſt the kingdom, and being in want of all things, applied himſelf to Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia. That lady when ſhe was very young had been promiſed to Alexander the ſon of Roxana by Alexander the Great; but that family proving unfortunate, when ſhe came to age they married her to Demetrius. At the great battle of Ipſus, where all the kings of the earth were engaged *, Pyrrhus, though yet but a youth, accompanied Demetrius, routed thoſe that encountered him, and highly ſignalized himſelf among all the ſoldiery. Afterwards, when Demetrius's fortunes were low, he did not forſake him, but ſecured for him thoſe cities of Greece with which he was intruſted. When articles of agreement were made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus went over as an hoſtage into Egypt, where both in hunting, and other exerciſes, he gave Ptolemy a lively demonſtration of his ſtrength and courage. Obſerving that of all Ptolemy's wives, Berenice had the greateſt power, and was higheſt in eſteem for virtue and underſtanding, he made his court principally to her: for he had a particular art of recommending himſelf to the great for his own intereſt; while he overlooked ſuch as were below him. And as there appeared an uncommon

* He ſays all the kings of the earth were then engaged, becauſe Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Caſſander, Antigonus, and Demetrius were there in perſon.

prudence and moderation in his behaviour, he, in preference to many other young princes, obtained in marriage Antigone the daughter of Berenice by her firſt huſband Philip. After this he was ſtill more honoured than before; Antigone proved a very good wife to him, and procured for him men and money, which enabled him to recover his kingdom. At his arrival in Epire, his ſubjects received him with open arms; for they began to hate Neoptolemus for his arbitrary and tyrannical government. However Pyrrhus, for fear Neoptolemus ſhould have recourſe to ſome of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and aſſociated him in the kingdom. Some time after certain perſons ſecretly exaſperated them againſt each other, and fomented jealouſies between them. Pyrrhus's quarrel with Neoptolemus was owing to this accident. It had been a cuſtom for the kings of Epire to hold an aſſembly at Paſſaro, a place in the province of the Moloſſians, where, when they had performed a ſacrifice to Jupiter the Warrior, they took an oath to their ſubjects, who were likewiſe ſworn to them. The kings obliged themſelves by oath *to govern according to law*, and the ſubjects *to maintain the government according to law*. The ceremony was at this time performed in the preſence of both the kings and their friends; and when it was over, preſents were made, and received on all ſides. Among the men of note that were then preſent was one Gelon, a faithful friend of Neoptolemus. This man, in token of reſpect to Pyrrhus, made him a preſent of two yoke of oxen. Myrtilus his cupbearer begged them of Pyrrhus, who refuſed him, and gave them to another; at which Myrtilus was highly offended. Gelon, who was not ignorant of the provocation, or reſentment, invited Myrtilus to ſupper. Some ſay that in the heat of wine he had an infamous commerce with him, for Myrtilus was young and handſome. However after ſupper he inſtigated him

to embrace Neoptolemus's intereſt, and to poiſon Pyrrhus. Myrtilus ſeemed entirely to approve the deſign, but immediately went, and diſcovered all to his maſter. Pyrrhus commanded him to take Alexicrates his chief cupbearer with him, and recommend him to Gelon, as a fit inſtrument for their purpoſe; for he was deſirous to have the crime proved by more than one evidence. Gelon being thus deceived, led Neoptolemus himſelf likewiſe into the ſnare. He in confidence of ſucceſs could not conceal his joy, but gave it vent among his friends. Particularly once when he was at ſupper with his ſiſter Cadmia, he blabbed out the whole deſign, thinking none within hearing but themſelves. Nor indeed was there any one in the room but Phænarete the wife of Samon chief keeper of Neoptolemus's cattle. She had laid herſelf on a couch with her face turned to the wall, and pretended to be faſt aſleep: but ſhe heard all that paſſed without being in the leaſt ſuſpected, and went the next day and diſcovered to Antigone every thing Neoptolemus had ſaid to his ſiſter in her hearing. This was immediately told to Pyrrhus, who for the preſent took no notice of it: but one night, after the performance of a ſolemn ſacrifice, he invited Neoptolemus to ſupper, and killed him. For he was well aſſured that all the leading men in Epire were in his intereſt; they having often preſſed him to remove Neoptolemus from the throne, and not to ſit down ſatisfied with part of the kingdom, but to follow his deſtiny which was leading him to a higher point of glory. Nay, as ſoon as they had any ſuſpicion of the deſign formed againſt him, they adviſed him to prevent the execution of it by putting Neoptolemus to death.

In acknowledgment of the obligations he lay under to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his ſon by Antigone, *Ptolemy*; and having built a city in the peninſula of Epirus, he called it *Berenicis*. From this

this time he began to form many great projects; but his firſt hope and deſign was to get poſſeſſion of what lay near home; and he found means to engage himſelf in the Macedonian affairs under this pretence. Antipater, Caſſander's eldeſt ſon, had killed his mother Theſſalonica, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander ſent to Demetrius for ſuccour, and implored likewiſe the aſſiſtance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius being retarded by other affairs, Pyrrhus got the ſtart of him, and marched to the aid of Alexander, of whom he demanded (as a reward for his ſervices) the city of Nymphæa *, all the maritime coaſt of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, which were ſome of the conquered countries that did not anciently belong to the kingdom of Macedon. The young prince conſenting to this demand, Pyrrhus took poſſeſſion of theſe countries, and ſecured them with good garriſons, and kept for Alexander himſelf the other part of the kingdom which he gained from Antipater.

King Lyſimachus would willingly have aſſiſted Antipater, but had his hands, at that time, full of other buſineſs; wherefore knowing that Pyrrhus would not diſoblige Ptolemy, or deny him any thing, he feigned a letter to him in his name, deſiring him to give over the expedition, upon the payment of three hundred talents by Antipater. Pyrrhus opening the letter quickly diſcovered the fraud; for it had not the accuſtomed ſtyle of ſalutation, *The father to the ſon, health*; but, *King Ptolemy to Pyrrhus the king, health*. He reproached Lyſimachus for this piece of forgery; however he ſoon

* If this be the true name, the city probably ſtood near Apollonia in the country of the Taulantii, upon the Adriatic. But perhaps Apollonia itſelf may be ſo called, from a famous rock near it, called *Nymphæum*, ſo well deſcribed in the life of Sylla, and in Dion, lib. 41. The learned Palmerius is of opinion, that inſtead of *Nymphæa* it ought to be read *Tymphæa*, becauſe there is a town of that name in thoſe parts mentioned by Stephanus.

after

after liſtened to terms of accommodation. The peace was ſo far advanced, that the three princes met to ſwear to the articles upon the ſacrifices. A goat, a bull, and a ram being brought to the altar, the ram on a ſudden fell down dead of himſelf. The reſt of the company laughed at this accident; but Theodotus the ſoothſayer would not ſuffer Pyrrhus to ſwear, declaring that heaven by that omen portended the death of one of the three kings *; upon which he refuſed to ratify the peace.

The affairs of Alexander were now ſettled; notwithſtanding which Demetrius arrived, and it was evident he came undeſired, and ſtruck a terror into Alexander. After they had been a few days together, their mutual jealouſies made them plot againſt each other; but Demetrius taking advantage of the firſt occaſion, was beforehand with the young king, ſlew him, and proclaimed himſelf king of Macedon. There had for ſome time paſt been no very good underſtanding between him and Pyrrhus; for he could not forget the inroads he made into Theſſaly; beſides, that diſtemper natural to princes, the thirſt of power and dominion, rendered their neighbourhood uneaſy and formidable to each other: and this jealouſy was augmented by the death of Deidamia. And as each of them had ſeized on part of Macedonia, and their claims interfered with each other, this naturally afforded freſh ſubject of contention. Demetrius having ſubdued the Ætolians, left Pantauchus with ſome of his forces to ſecure his conqueſts in that country, whilſt he marched at the head of the reſt againſt Pyrrhus; and Pyrrhus, as ſoon as he was advertiſed of it, went to meet him; but they both miſtook the way, and ſo paſſed by each other. Demetrius invaded Epirus, and ravaged the country, whilſt Pyrrhus meeting with Pantauchus, gave him

* Theodotus's prediction was verified in the event, for Alexander was murdered ſoon after.

battle.

battle. The diſpute was warm and obſtinate on both ſides, eſpecially where the generals fought; for Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage, and ſtrength ſurpaſſed all Demetrius's officers, and who was a man of a high and generous ſpirit, challenged Pyrrhus to ſingle combat. Pyrrhus on the other hand, who was not inferior to any king in fortitude and thirſt of glory, and who was deſirous to claim the honour of Achilles rather on account of his courage than his birth, advanced againſt Pantauchus through the front of the army. Firſt they uſed their lances, then came to a cloſe fight, and managed their ſwords both with art and force. Pyrrhus receiving one wound, but returning two for it, one in the thigh, the other near the neck, repulſed and overthrew Pantauchus, but could not kill him outright, for he was ſuddenly reſcued by his friends. The Epirots, elated with the victory of their king, and admiring his courage, forced through, and diſperſed the Macedonian phalanx, and purſuing thoſe that fled, killed many, and took five thouſand priſoners. This fight did not ſo much exaſperate the Macedonians with anger for their loſs, or with hatred to Pyrrhus, as it cauſed an eſteem and admiration of his valour, which furniſhed a new ſubject of diſcourſe among thoſe who had ſeen what he did, and were engaged againſt him in the action. They thought that his countenance, ſwiftneſs, and motion, expreſſed thoſe of Alexander the Great, and that in him they beheld a ſtrong reſemblance of Alexander's impetuoſity and ſtrength in fight. The other kings repreſented that conqueror in their purple robes, number of guards, bending of the neck, and a fierce lofty tone of voice: it was Pyrrhus only who repreſented him in ſtrength and feats of arms. And of his knowledge in the military ſcience we have a ſufficient proof from the writings he left behind him on that ſubject. Antigonus being aſked who was the greateſt general,

general, ſaid, *Pyrrhus would be, if he lived to be old*; meaning thoſe only of his own time; but Hannibal ſaid, that for experience and ability he eſteemed Pyrrhus the firſt of all commanders, Scipio the ſecond, and himſelf the third, as is mentioned in the life of Scipio. Indeed he applied himſelf to no other ſcience but that of war, which was the conſtant ſubject of his thoughts and converſation. He looked on it as that part of learning which was moſt worthy of a king, and conſidered all other ſciences as curioſities beneath his notice. Wherefore it is reported of him, that when he was once aſked at a feaſt whether he thought Python or Caphiſias the beſt muſician, he replied, *Polyperchon is the beſt general*; intimating thereby that war only was what a king ought to ſtudy and underſtand. Towards his familiars he was mild, and not eaſily incenſed, but forward and ready in repaying kindneſſes; ſo that he could not bear the death of Aëropus with moderation, ſaying, *He indeed had ſuffered what was common to human nature, but he could not forbear condemning himſelf for having delayed ſo long to requite his ſervices, that he had loſt the oppportunity of doing it*: for our debts may be paid to the creditor's heirs; but to have omitted the acknowledgment of favours received till they to whom it is due are no longer ſenſible of it, afflicts a good and a worthy nature. Pyrrhus being adviſed to baniſh a certain ill-tongued fellow in Ambracia, who had ſpoke very indecently of him, ſaid, *Let him rather ſpeak againſt me here to a few, than rambling about, ſpread an ill report of me every where*. Another time ſome young men were brought before him for having railed at him in their cups, and he aſking them if they ſaid ſuch and ſuch things of him, one of them anſwered, *We did, Sir, and ſhould have ſaid a great deal more if we had had more wine*; at which words he ſmiled, and diſcharged them.

After Antigone's death, he wedded ſeveral wives

on

on purpoſe to enlarge his intereſt and power. For he married the daughter of Autoleon king of Pæonia, Bircenna daughter of Bardyllis king of Illyria, and Lanaſſa daughter of Agathocles the Syracuſan, who brought with her in dowery the city of Corcyra taken by her father. By Antigone he had Ptolemy, Alexander by Lanaſſa, and Helenus the youngeſt by Bircenna. All theſe princes were naturally of a martial temper, which he quickened and fomented by their education, even from their infancy. It is ſaid that when one of them, yet a child, aſked him to which of them he would leave his kingdom, he replied, *to him that has the ſharpeſt ſword*; which was much like that tragical curſe of Oedipus to his ſons,

May their keen ſwords their heritage divide *.

So unſociable and brutal is the temper of ambition.

After this battle Pyrrhus returning gloriouſly home, rejoiced and exulted in the honour he had acquired. Being called *eagle* by the Epirots, he ſaid, *By your means it is, that I am an eagle; for how ſhould I not be ſuch, while I am borne up by your arms as on wings?* A little after having intelligence that Demetrius was dangerouſly ſick, he ſuddenly marched into Macedon, intending only to make an incurſion, and to haraſs the country; but he was very near ſeizing upon all, and taking the kingdom without a blow. For he advanced as far as Edeſſa, the capital of the kingdom, without any oppoſition; nay, many of the inhabitants came in, and joined him. This danger excited Demetrius beyond his ſtrength; and his friends and commanders in a ſhort time got a conſiderable army together, and with all their forces briſkly attacked Pyrrhus, who coming only to pillage, would not ſtand a fight; but in his retreat he loſt part of his army,

* This line is in the Phœniſſæ of Euripides.

by

by the cloſe purſuit of the Macedonians. Though Demetrius had with ſo much eaſe driven Pyrrhus out of his country, yet he did not ſlight, or overlook him. But as he had been forming great deſigns, and thought of nothing leſs than to recover his father's dominions with an army of a hundred thouſand men, and five hundred ſail of ſhips, he thought it not prudent either to embroil himſelf with Pyrrhus, or to leave behind him ſo dangerous a neighbour. And not having leiſure to continue the war with him, he was deſirous to conclude a peace, that he might with more ſafety turn his forces againſt the other kings. Demetrius's deſigns were ſoon diſcovered by this peace, and theſe mighty preparations. The other kings were alarmed at it, and ſent their ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus with letters, in which they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at his neglecting ſo favourable an opportunity which Demetrius himſelf had given him, and his ſitting ſtill till his enemy was at leiſure and in a condition to attack him. They repreſented to him with how much eaſe he might drive him out of Macedonia, now whilſt his hands were full; inſtead of which he waited till Demetrius had diſpatched all his other affairs, and was ſo increaſed in power as to be able to carry the war home to his own doors, and put him under the neceſſity of fighting in defence of the temples of the gods, and the ſepulchres of his anceſtors in Moloſſia itſelf; and this, notwithſtanding he had been ſo lately deprived by Demetrius both of his wife, and the city of Corcyra. For Lanaſſa had taken offence at Pyrrhus for ſhowing greater tokens of his love to his other wives, though barbarians, than to her; ſhe therefore withdrew to Corcyra; and being deſirous to marry ſome other king, ſhe made an overture to Demetrius, knowing that he of all the reſt had the ſtrongeſt propenſity towards marriage. Accordingly he ſailed thither, married Lanaſſa, and placed a garriſon in the iſland. The

kings having wrote thus to Pyrrhus, did themſelves likewiſe find work for Demetrius, while he was delaying and making his preparations. Ptolemy ſetting out with a great fleet, drew off many of the Greek cities; Lyſimachus marching from Thrace, waſted the upper Macedon: Pyrrhus alſo taking arms at the ſame time, marched to Berœa, expecting (as it fell out) that Demetrius drawing his forces againſt Lyſimachus, would leave the lower country defenceleſs. The very night before he ſet out on this expedition, he dreamed that he was called by Alexander the Great, and approaching ſaw him ſick abed, but was received with very kind words, much reſpect, and a promiſe of ſudden aſſiſtance: he making bold to reply; *How, Sir, can you, ſick as you are, aſſiſt me? With my name*, ſaid he; and mounting a Niſæan horſe*, he ſeemed to lead the way. This viſion greatly encouraged Pyrrhus; and with long marches over-running all the interjacent places, he took Berœa, and making that his headquarters, reduced the reſt of the country by his commanders. When Demetrius received intelligence of this, and perceived likewiſe the Macedonians ready to mutiny in the army, he was afraid to advance further, leſt coming near Lyſimachus, a Macedonian king, and of great fame, they ſhould revolt to him. Wherefore he returned, and marching directly againſt Pyrrhus, who was a ſtranger, and hated by the Macedonians, he encamped with his forces near Berœa. Whilſt he lay there, many of the inhabitants came out of Berœa to viſit their friends and acquaintance in the camp, where they highly praiſed Pyrrhus, as a perſon invincible in arms, a very illuſtrious prince, and one who treated all thoſe who fell into his hands with great tenderneſs and humanity. Beſide theſe, Pyrrhus himſelf ſent ſeveral others into the camp privately, who

* Niſæa was a province not far from the Caſpian ſea, the ſoil of which was very proper for feeding horſes.

pretending

pretending to be Macedonians, ſaid that now was the time for them to deliver themſelves out of the cruel hands of Demetrius, by declaring for Pyrrhus, a popular prince, and who ſhowed great kindneſs to the ſoldiers. This artifice had its deſired effect upon the greateſt part of the army; who caſt their eyes towards the enemy's camp to ſee if they could not diſcover Pyrrhus. It happened at that inſtant that his helmet was off; but immediately recollecting himſelf, he put it on, and was in a moment diſcovered by his glittering plume, and creſt of goat's horns *. Then the Macedonians running together in a turbulent manner, deſired Demetrius to come to an agreement with Pyrrhus. Others put oaken boughs upon their heads, becauſe they ſaw them worn by Pyrrhus's ſoldiers. Some had the confidence to tell Demetrius himſelf, that it would be for his intereſt to withdraw, and lay down the government. He obſerving that the mutinous behaviour of the army was agreeable to that ſort of diſcourſe, privately got away, diſguiſed in a mean coat and a common Macedonian hat. Pyrrhus upon this became maſter of the camp without fighting, and was declared king of the Macedonians.

In a ſhort time after Lyſimachus arrived, and affirmed that he had contributed as much to the flight and expulſion of Demetrius as Pyrrhus, and that the kingdom therefore ought to be ſhared between them. Pyrrhus, being not yet well aſſured of the Macedonians, and in doubt of their fidelity, conſented to the propoſition, and ſo they divided the cities and provinces between them. This was for the preſent uſeful to them both, and prevented a war; but ſhortly after they found that this partition, inſtead of terminating their animoſity, rather proved an occaſion of mutual complaint and diſſen-

* Thoſe princes adorned their creſts with the figures of ſeveral animals; that of Pyrrhus had on its ſides two goats horns. Alexander is repreſented on the medals which ſuch a creſt.

ſion. For how is it poſſible that thoſe men, whoſe ambition neither ſeas, nor mountains, nor uninhabited deſerts can limit, whoſe vaſt deſires not even the bounds dividing Europe from Aſia will confine, ſhould, when ſo near to each other, reſt contented with their own poſſeſſions, and abſtain from violence and injuſtice? Such men are always at war, it being natural to them to envy and to form ſchemes of miſchief againſt their neighbours. The names of *peace* and *war* they employ not as juſtice directs, but uſe one or the other indifferently like a piece of money, as it ſuits their preſent intereſt; and they are really better men when they openly enter on a war, than when they give to the mere forbearance from doing wrong only for want of opportunity, the ſacred names of *juſtice* and *friendſhip*. Of this Pyrrhus was an inſtance. For oppoſing himſelf again to Demetrius, who began to recover his affairs, and checking that power which was returning by degrees, as ſtrength returns after a fit of ſickneſs, he marched to the aſſiſtance of the Grecians, and entered the city of Athens. He went up to the citadel, where he ſacrificed to Minerva; from thence returning down into the city the ſame day, he told the Athenians, *that he was highly pleaſed with the affection they had manifeſted towards him, and the confidence they repoſed in him*; but added, *that if they were wiſe, they would never ſuffer any king to enter their city, but ſhut their gates againſt all ſuch as ſhould offer it* *. Soon after this, he concluded a peace with Demetrius; and yet he was no ſooner paſſed into Aſia, but Pyrrhus, at the inſtigation of Lyſimachus, tampered with the Theſſalians, and perſuaded them to revolt. He likewiſe attacked the garriſons he had in Greece. For he found the Macedonians were more ſubmiſſive and tractable in

* He ſaid this to hinder their joining with Demetrius, which would very much have incommoded his affairs. The Athenians made uſe of his advice, and drove out Demetrius's garriſon.

time

time of war, than in peace, and he himſelf was not naturally very fond of repoſe. At laſt Demetrius having received a defeat in Syria, Lyſimachus, who had now ſecured his affairs on that ſide, and had nothing to do elſewhere, immediately turned his forces againſt Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edeſſa. Upon his arrival near the place, he fell upon one of the king's convoys, which he took, and ſo diſtreſſed the army for want of proviſions; then partly by letters, partly by ſpreading rumours abroad, he corrupted the principal officers of the Macedonians, reproaching them for having choſen for their ſovereign one who was not only a ſtranger, but deſcended from thoſe who had ever been ſubject to the Macedonians, while they expelled the old friends and companions of Alexander out of the country. Theſe reproaches gained upon moſt of the Macedonians; wherefore Pyrrhus fearing the event, withdrew himſelf with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, loſing Macedon juſt after the ſame manner he had gained it. Thus kings have no reaſon to condemn the people when they change ſometimes for their intereſt, ſince in that they do but imitate them, who are their inſtructors in perfidy and treachery, and who ſet the greateſt value on his ſervice who pays the leaſt regard to honeſty.

Pyrrhus retiring thus into Epirus, and leaving Macedon, had a fair occaſion given him by fortune, of enjoying himſelf in quiet, and peaceably governing his own ſubjects; but he thought life inſupportably tedious unleſs he was doing miſchief to others, or receiving ſome from them; as Achilles could not endure repoſe, but

In his black thoughts revenge and ſlaughter roll,
And ſcenes of blood riſe dreadful in his ſoul. Pope.

Wherefore being agitated by this reſtleſs unruly temper, he laid hold of this pretence to furniſh himſelf with freſh employment.

The Romans were at war with the Tarentines, who not being able to ſupport it, nor yet to put an end to it, by reaſon of the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men, bethought themſelves of calling in Pyrrhus, and making him their general, as no other prince had ſo much leiſure, or was ſo able a commander. The more grave and diſcreet citizens oppoſing theſe counſels, were overborn by the noiſe and violence of the multitude; which when they ſaw, they came no more into the aſſemblies. But one Meton, a very worthy man, the day this public decree was to be ratified, when the people were all ſeated, came dancing into the aſſembly like one quite drunk, with a withered garland on his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman playing on a flute before him; and as in ſuch numerous popular aſſemblies no decorum can be well obſerved, ſome clapped their hands, others laughed; none interrupted him, but they called to the woman to play, and him to ſing to the company; and when they ſeemed ready to begin, there was a profound ſilence; but Meton, inſtead of ſinging, ſpoke to them in this manner: *It is very well done of you, O Tarentines, not to hinder any from making themſelves merry that have a mind to it, while it is yet in their power; and if you are wiſe, you will ſtill keep and enjoy this freedom, for you muſt change your courſe of life when Pyrrhus comes among you.* Theſe words made a ſtrong impreſſion upon many of the Tarentines; and it was whiſpered about, that he had ſpoken much to the purpoſe. But ſome who feared they ſhould be ſacrificed to the Romans if a peace were made, reproached the aſſembly for ſo tamely ſuffering themſelves to be abuſed by a lewd drunken ſot; and crouding together upon Meton, they thruſt him out. Thus the decree was paſſed, and ambaſſadors were ſent into Epirus, not only in their own name, but in the name of all the Italian Greeks, carrying preſents to Pyrrhus, and telling him,

him, *they only wanted a general of his fame and experience; that as for forces they had enough, being able to raiſe a powerful army of Lucanians, Meſſapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, amounting in the whole to no leſs than twenty thouſand horſe, and three hundred and fifty thouſand foot.* This mighty promiſe did not only quicken Pyrrhus, but raiſed alſo in the Epirots a ſtrong inclination to the war.

Pyrrhus had at that time in his court a Theſſalian named *Cineas*, a man of ſound ſenſe, and who having been Demoſthenes's diſciple, paſſed for the only orator of his time who could revive in the minds of his hearers a lively image of the force and eloquence of his maſter. This man had devoted himſelf to Pyrrhus, who employed him in ſeveral embaſſies, in all which he confirmed that ſaying in Euripides,

The Syren eloquence prevails,
When Mars array'd in thunder fails.

This made Pyrrhus ſay of him, *that Cineas had taken more towns with his words, than he with his arms*; and he always treated him with great honour, and employed him in his moſt important affairs. Cineas ſeeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, and finding him one day at leiſure, drew him inſenſibly into the following converſation. *The Romans*, ſaid he, *have the reputation of being excellent ſoldiers, and have many warlike nations under them. If we have the good fortune to conquer them, what benefit ſhall we reap from our victory?* *Cineas*, replied the king, *thy queſtion anſwers itſelf. When once we have overcome the Romans, there will be no town, whether Greek or Barbarian, in all the country able to oppoſe us. We ſhall at once be maſters of all Italy, whoſe riches, ſtrength, and power, are better known to thee than any man.* Cineas, after a little pauſe, continued, *And having ſubdued Italy, what ſhall we do next?* Pyrrhus not yet diſcovering what he aimed at, replied; *Sicily next holds out her arms to receive*

ceive us, a rich and populous iſland, and eaſy to be gained; for ever ſince the death of Agathocles, faction and anarchy prevail in all their towns, and every thing is at the diſcretion of their turbulent orators. You ſpeak, ſays Cineas, *what is highly probable; but ſhall the poſſeſſion of Sicily put an end to the war? Far from it,* anſwered Pyrrhus; *for if fortune favours us with victory there, that ſhall ſerve only as the forerunner of greater undertakings. When Sicily is reduced, who can forbear Libya and Carthage, then within reach? which Agathocles, even when forced to fly in a clandeſtine manner from Syracuſe, and paſſing the ſea only with a few ſhips, had almoſt ſurpriſed. Now, when we have added Africa to our conqueſts, can it be ſuppoſed that any one of thoſe enemies who now diſturb us, will dare to make any further reſiſtance? No certainly,* replied Cineas; *for it is evident, that when we are at the head of ſuch a mighty power, we ſhall ſoon recover Macedon, and govern in Greece without control. But when we have conquered all, what is the next thing we are to do? Why then, my friend,* replied Pyrrhus laughing, *we will live at our eaſe, and drink and be merry.* Cineas, when he had brought him thus far, replied; *And what hinders us now from living at our eaſe, and taking our pleaſure? We have already at hand, without any care or trouble, what we are going in queſt of, at the expenſe of ſo much blood, labour, and danger; at the expenſe of ſo many calamities, which we ſhall ſuffer ourſelves, and inflict upon others.*

This diſcourſe of Cineas rather afflicted Pyrrhus than corrected him. He was convinced that he was foregoing a certain happineſs, but he could not abandon the hopes of what he ſo much deſired. Wherefore he firſt detached Cineas with three thouſand foot to Tarentum; ſoon after which arrived from thence a great number of tranſports, galleys, and flat-bottomed boats, on board of which he ſhipped twenty elephants, three thouſand horſe,

twenty

twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand archers, and five hundred ſlingers.

When all things were in readineſs, he ſet ſail; but as ſoon as he was out at ſea, he was overtaken by a ſtorm, the north wind blowing violently, which was unuſual at that ſeaſon of the year; but, by the great ſkill and reſolution of his officers and ſeamen, his ſhip made the Italian ſhore with infinite labour, and beyond expectation; the reſt of the fleet could not hold their courſe, but were diſperſed. Some of the ſhips being beaten off from the coaſt of Italy, were driven into the Libyan and Sicilian ſea; others not able to double the cape of Japygia, were overtaken by the night, and a very boiſterous ſea throwing them upon a dangerous and rocky ſhore, they were all in very great diſtreſs. The king's ſhip, whilſt the wind blew from the ſea, reſiſted, by its bulk and ſtrength, the force of the waves; but the wind afterwards coming about, blew directly from the ſhore, and the veſſel keeping up with its head againſt it, was in danger of opening by the violent ſhocks it received. And yet to be driven off to ſea again, which was very raging and tempeſtuous, the wind ſhifting about every way, ſeemed the moſt dreadful caſe of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus flung himſelf overboard, and was inſtantly followed by his friends and guards, earneſtly contending who ſhould be moſt ready to aſſiſt him; but the night which was exceeding dark, and the roaring ſea, which was forced by the wind with great impetuoſity upon the coaſt, and repulſed with equal violence, made it extremely difficult to ſave him. At laſt, by day-break the wind being conſiderably laid, he with much difficulty got aſhore, exceedingly weakened and diſabled in body, but with the ſame high and invincible courage, which ſtill ſupported him. At the ſame time the Meſſapians, on whoſe coaſt the veſſel was thrown, ran with great diligence to ren-

der

der him all the ſervice they were able; they alſo met with ſome of the other ſtraggling veſſels that had eſcaped the ſtorm; in which were a very few horſe, and not quite two thouſand foot, and two elephants. With theſe Pyrrhus marched ſtraight to Tarentum. Cineas, being informed of his approach, drew out his forces to meet him. At his firſt arrival he did nothing unpleaſing to the Tarentines; but when he heard his ſhips were all ſafe in harbour, and the beſt part of his army had joined him; then conſidering the people as neither able to preſerve themſelves nor ſecure others, unleſs they were neceſſitated to it, and that they intended, whilſt he was fighting for them in the field, to remain idle at home, and ſpend their time in bathing, feaſting, and idle diſcourſe, he firſt ſhut up the places of public exerciſe, and their walks, where in words only they uſed to ſhow their military ſkill; he prohibited likewiſe all unſeaſonable feaſts, revels, and diverſions. Inſtead of theſe, he called the youth to arms, and was inflexibly ſevere againſt ſuch as did not appear at their muſters and exerciſes. Inſomuch that many who were unaccuſtomed to ſo exact a diſcipline, left the city, calling that a ſtate of inſupportable ſlavery, which would not ſuffer them to live at eaſe, in the full enjoyment of their pleaſures.

He now received intelligence that Lævinus the Roman conſul was upon his march with a powerful army, and that he was already advanced into Lucania ravaging the country as he paſſed. The confederate forces were not come up to him, yet he thought it a diſgrace to ſit ſtill and ſuffer the enemy to approach ſtill nearer; he therefore drew out his army, but firſt ſent an herald to the Romans to know, if, before they came to extremities, they would be content to have the matters in diſpute between them and the Italian Greeks brought to a friendly hearing, and allow him to be arbitrator between

tween them. Lævinus returned for anſwer, *that the Romans neither accepted him as arbitrator, nor feared him as an enemy*; whereupon Pyrrhus advanced, and encamped in the plain between the cities of Pandoſia and Heraclea; and having notice that the Romans were near, and lay on the other ſide of the river Siris, he rode up to take a view of them; and ſeeing their order, the appointment of their watches, and the whole ſcheme of their encampment, he was amazed, and ſaid to one of his friends who was near him; *This order, Megacles, of a barbarous nation, is not at all barbarous; we ſhall ſoon ſee what they can do*; and growing a little more doubtful of the event, he reſolved to wait the arrival of the confederates. And leſt the Romans in the mean time ſhould endeavour to paſs the river, he planted men all along the bank to oppoſe them; but they haſtening to prevent the coming up of thoſe forces he looked for, attempted the paſſage with their infantry, where it was fordable, the horſe getting over where they could; ſo that the Greeks, fearing to be ſurrounded, were obliged to retreat.

Pyrrhus being much concerned at this news, commanded his foot-officers immediately to draw up, and form, and ſtand to their arms, whilſt he advanced at the head of the horſe, being about three thouſand in number, hoping he ſhould be ſtill time enough to diſtreſs the Romans in their paſſage, while they were diſperſed up and down, and in diſorder. But when he ſaw a vaſt number of ſhields glittering above the water, and the horſe advancing in good order, he then drew up his men into a cloſer body, and began the charge. He was ſoon known by the beauty and luſtre of his armour, which was exceedingly rich; and he ſhowed by his actions that the fame he had acquired was not ſuperior to his valour. For though he expoſed his perſon in the engagement, and fought with the greateſt ardour, his mind was ſtill free and undiſturbed,

turbed, and he conducted the battle with his uſual prudence and care, flying from place to place, and aſſiſting thoſe whom he thought moſt oppreſſed by the enemy. Leonatus a Macedonian, obſerving one of the Italians very intent upon Pyrrhus, and changing places as he did, and moving as he moved, ſaid to him, *Do you ſee, Sir, that Barbarian on the black horſe with white feet? he ſeems to me to have ſome deſign of conſequence in his head; his eyes are ſteadily fixed on you; he ſeems to aim only at you; he takes no notice of any others; all his fury ſeems levelled at you alone; have a care of him. Leonatus*, ſaid Pyrrhus, *it is impoſſible for any man to avoid his fate; but neither he nor any other Italian ſhall have much ſatisfaction in engaging with me.* While they were in this diſcourſe, the Italian poiſing his lance, and clapping ſpurs to his horſe, rode full againſt Pyrrhus, and run his horſe through, as Leonatus did the Italian's, ſo that they both fell together. Pyrrhus was immediately ſurrounded by a croud of friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who defended himſelf to the very laſt. He was a Ferentine by birth, captain of a company, and named *Oplacus*. This made Pyrrhus more cautious; and now ſeeing his horſe give ground, he brought up the infantry, and ranged them in order, and then giving his robe and his arms to Megacles one of his friends, and diſguiſing himſelf in his, he charged upon the Romans, who made a brave reſiſtance; the ſucceſs of the battle remained long undetermined; and it is ſaid, that each army gave way ſeven times, and rallied as often. This change of his arms was very ſerviceable for the ſafety of his perſon, but had like to have ruined his affairs, and loſt him the victory; for the enemy fell in crouds upon Megacles; and he who firſt wounded him, and overthrew him, by name *Dexoüs*, ſeizing on his robe and helmet, rode away full ſpeed to Lævinus, and ſhowing them to the conſul, cried out,

that

that he had ſlain Pyrrhus. Theſe ſpoils being carried about and ſhown through every rank, the Roman army ſhouted for joy, whilſt that of the Greeks was ſtruck with a general conſternation. Pyrrhus underſtanding what had happened, rode about the army with his face uncovered, ſtretching out his hand to his ſoldiers, and telling them aloud it was he. At laſt, when the Roman ranks were broken by means of the elephants, the horſes not being able to bear the ſight of them, but even before they came near recoiling back with their riders, he immediately commanded the Theſſalian cavalry to charge them in this diſorder, and gave them a total rout with great effuſion of blood. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus affirms, that near fifteen thouſand fell of the Romans; Hieronymus, no more than ſeven thouſand. On Pyrrhus's ſide, Dionyſius ſays there were thirteen thouſand ſlain; Hieronymus, leſs than four thouſand; but they were the flower of his men, and among them were his chief friends and beſt officers, in whom he moſt confided, and whom he always employed on the moſt important occaſions.

Pyrrhus without loſs of time made himſelf maſter of the Roman camp, which they had deſerted, drew off ſeveral of their confederate cities, waſted the country round about, and advanced ſo far, that he was within thirty-ſeven miles of Rome itſelf. The Lucanians and Samnites came in and joined him after the fight, and were ſeverely reproved by him for their delay; however it plainly appeared that he was extremely pleaſed and elated that he had defeated ſo great an army of the Romans, with the aſſiſtance of the Tarentines alone.

The Romans, notwithſtanding this defeat, would not recall Lævinus their conſul; though they were told Fabricius ſaid on that occaſion, *that the Romans were not overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus*; intimating that their loſs was owing to the

inferiority of the general, and not of the army. Wherefore raiſing new levies to fill up their legions, and diſcourſing of the war with an air of confidence and reſolution, they ſtruck Pyrrhus with amazement. For this reaſon he thought it adviſable to ſend firſt and make an experiment, whether they had any inclination to make peace, thinking that to take the city and make an abſolute conqueſt, was too great a work for ſuch an army as his was at that time; but that if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be highly honourable after ſo ſignal a victory. Cineas therefore being ſent on that errand to Rome, had a conference with the chief men in the city, to every one of whom he ſent preſents from the king, as likewiſe to their wives; but they all refuſed them, the women as well as the men declaring, that when the peace was publicly concluded, they ſhould then be ready on their parts to give the king all poſſible demonſtrations of their reſpect. When Cineas was introduced into the ſenate, and admitted to audience, he made a ſpeech, and in a very graceful manner endeavoured to incline them to an accommodation. But though Pyrrhus had offered to releaſe the priſoners taken in the late battle without ranſom, and to aſſiſt them in the entire conqueſt of Italy; aſking for nothing on his part but their friendſhip, and ſecurity for the Tarentines; yet they were immoveable, and rejected his offers. There were ſome indeed that ſeemed inclined to peace, urging that they had already received a great overthrow, and were in danger of receiving another ſtill greater, ſince Pyrrhus's forces were daily increaſing by the junction of many of the Italians his confederates.

There was at that time in Rome a perſon of the firſt rank, called *Appius Claudius*, who by reaſon of his great age and loſs of ſight had retired from public affairs; but when he heard of the king's offers

to

to the ſenate, and that it was whiſpered about that they were likely to be accepted, he could not contain himſelf, but commanding his ſervants to take him up, he was carried in his chair through the forum to the ſenate-houſe. When he was ſet down at the door, his ſons and ſons-in law took hold of him, and led him into the ſenate. A reſpectful ſilence poſſeſſed the whole aſſembly upon his appearance; and he delivered his ſentiments in the terms following. *Till now, O Romans! I conſidered my loſs of ſight as a great misfortune, but now I wiſh I was as deaf as I am blind, that I might not hear the ſhameful reſolutions you are taking, which will efface all the glory of Rome. Where are now thoſe lofty words you formerly uttered, when you boaſted every where, that if Alexander the Great had invaded Italy, and turned his arms againſt us when we were young, and our fathers in full vigour, he would not now have been called invincible, but either by his flight, or his death, would have added freſh glory to the Roman name? How vain was that boaſting? Are you not afraid of the Chaonians, and Moloſſians? of thoſe, who were always a prey to the Macedonians? Do you not tremble at the name of Pyrrhus, who has been educated in a dependence upon one of Alexander's guards? Hither he is come, not ſo much to ſuccour the Greeks, who inhabit among us, as to fly from his enemies at home; and has the inſolence to promiſe us the conqueſt of Italy, with that very army with which he was not able to preſerve to himſelf a ſmall part of Macedon. Do not therefore imagine that the way to get rid of him, is to enter into alliance with him. That ſtep will only open the door to more invaders. Who is there that will not deſpiſe you, and look on you as an eaſy conqueſt, if Pyrrhus eſcapes, not only without being puniſhed for his preſumption, but having gained the friendſhip of the Samnites and Tarentines, as a reward for inſulting the Romans?*

Appius had no ſooner done ſpeaking but they voted unanimouſly for the war, and diſmiſſed Ci-

neas with this anſwer, *That when Pyrrhus had drawn his forces out of Italy, then if he pleaſed they would be ready to treat with him about friendſhip and alliance; but while he ſtaid there in arms, they were reſolved to proſecute the war againſt him with all their force, though he ſhould have defeated a thouſand Lævinus's.* It is ſaid, that Cineas, while he was managing this affair, made it his buſineſs with an exact care to inſpect the manners of the Romans, and perfectly underſtand their form of government; and he afterwards in diſcourſe told Pyrrhus, among other things, *that the ſenate ſeemed to him an aſſembly of many kings; and as to the people, they were ſo numerous that he feared they had to do with another Hydra.* For Lævinus had already raiſed an army twice as numerous as the former; and had left behind him at Rome an infinite number of Romans capable of bearing arms, and ready to form many armies as ſtrong as that he had been then raiſing.

After this, Fabricius was ſent as ambaſſador by the Romans to treat of the ranſom or exchange of priſoners. Cineas told Pyrrhus that he was in the higheſt veneration among the Romans, as a man of virtue, and a good ſoldier; but that he was in extreme poverty. Pyrrhus received him with great kindneſs, and offered him ſome gold, not to engage him in any thing diſhonourable, but as a pledge of friendſhip and hoſpitality. Upon Fabricius's refuſal, he preſſed him no further; but the next day having a mind to diſcompoſe him, and knowing that he had never ſeen an elephant, he commanded one of the largeſt completely armed to be placed behind a curtain in a room where they were to be in conference together. Upon a ſign given, the curtain was drawn aſide, and the elephant raiſing his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made an horrid and frightful noiſe. Fabricius turned about very compoſedly, and then ſmiling, ſaid to Pyrrhus, *Neither*

Neither could your money yeſterday, nor can this beaſt to-day make any impreſſion upon me.

In the evening, whilſt they were at ſupper, their converſation turned upon many ſubjects, particularly upon the affairs of Greece, and the Grecian philoſophers. This led Cineas to mention Epicurus, and to give ſome account of the Epicurean ſentiments with reſpect to the gods, civil government, and happineſs. He ſaid they placed the chief happineſs of man in pleaſure; that they avoided all offices and employments in the ſtate, as ſo many bars to that pleaſure; that they attributed to the gods neither love nor hate; maintaining that they were perfectly regardleſs of human affairs, and paſſed their time in total inactivity, and in the full enjoyment of every kind of pleaſure. Before he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, Fabricius cried out, *O heavens! may Pyrrhus and the Samnites hold this doctrine as long as they are at war with the Romans.* Pyrrhus admiring his virtue and greatneſs of mind, was more deſirous than ever to be the friend rather than the enemy of the Romans. And diſcourſing with Fabricius in private, he conjured him, after having mediated a peace between him and the Romans, to come and ſettle in his court, where he ſhould be his moſt intimate friend, and the chief of his generals. To this Fabricius anſwered in a low voice, *That, Sir, will not be for your advantage; for they who now honour and admire you, when they have had experience of me, will rather chuſe to be governed by me, than you.* Such was the character of Fabricius.

Pyrrhus was not in the leaſt offended at this anſwer, as might have been expected from a tyrant. On the contrary, he highly extolled to his friends the magnanimity of that Roman, and intruſted the priſoners to him only, upon condition that if the ſenate refuſed to make peace, they ſhould be ſent back, after they had viſited their friends and relations, and celebrated the Saturnalia. Accordingly

they were ſent back after that feſtival was over; it being decreed by the ſenate, that if any ſtaid behind, they ſhould be put to death.

The year following Fabricius being conſul, and at the head of the army, a perſon came into the camp, and delivered him a letter from the king's phyſician, who offered to poiſon Pyrrhus, and ſo end the war without further hazard to the Romans, if he might have a reward proportionable to his ſervice. Fabricius deteſted the villany of the man, and having brought his colleague into the ſame ſentiments, ſent diſpatches immediately to Pyrrhus to caution him againſt the treaſon. The letter was this; *Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, conſuls of the Romans, to Pyrrhus the king, health. You ſeem to have made a very ill judgment, both of your friends and enemies. You will underſtand by this letter which was ſent to us, that you are at war with honeſt men, and truſt knaves and villains. We have not diſcovered this to you to obtain your favour, but leſt your death might bring a reproach upon us, and we might be thought to have ended the war by treachery, not being able to do it by our courage and virtue.* When Pyrrhus had read the letter, and made ſtrict inquiry into the treaſon, he executed the phyſician; and for acknowledgment of this generoſity of the Romans, ſent the priſoners to Rome without ranſom, and again employed Cineas to negotiate a peace for him. The Romans accepted of the priſoners; but as they were not willing to receive an obligation from an enemy, or a reward for not having been guilty of injuſtice, they returned to him an equal number of the Samnites and Tarentines. As for the peace, they would not ſuffer Cineas to mention it till Pyrrhus had removed his arms and forces out of Italy, and ſailed back to Epirus in the ſame ſhips that brought him over.

The king finding it impoſſible to avoid a ſecond engagement, aſſembled his army, and marched and attacked

attacked the Romans near Aſculum. There he ſuffered much from the nature of the country; for the ground being very uneven and covered with wood, was extremely inconvenient to the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from coming up with the infantry. For this reaſon he loſt many of his men, and had many wounded; at laſt the night put an end to the battle. The next day deſigning to engage on a ground more even and open, where his elephants might have room to act againſt the enemy, he ſent early in the morning a detachment to poſſeſs themſelves of that incommodious poſt where he had engaged the day before; he then drew up his army, and diſpoſing a great number of archers and ſlingers among his elephants, he marched in good order againſt the Romans.

The Romans, who had not the ſame advantages of falling on and retreating when they pleaſed, as they had before, were now forced to fight man to man upon even ground; wherefore haſtening to diſorder the main body of the enemy before the elephants could come up, they made dreadful havock with their ſwords among the Macedonian ſpears, not ſparing themſelves in the leaſt, or conſulting their own ſafety, being only bent to wound and kill their enemies. After a long and obſtinate fight they were forced to give ground, particularly in that part where Pyrrhus fought in perſon; ſo ſtrong was the impreſſion he made at the head of his phalanx. But what chiefly contributed to their defeat was the irreſiſtible weight and force of the elephants, againſt whom the Romans could have no opportunity of exerting their bravery. Wherefore they thought it wiſer to give way, as to an overwhelming torrent or an earthquake, than to fall in an obſtinate and fruitleſs oppoſition, when they could gain no advantage, though they ſuffered the utmoſt extremity. They did not fly far before they gained their camp, for the battle was fought

pretty

pretty near it. Hieronymus ſays, the Romans loſt ſix thouſand men in the action, and Pyrrhus, according to the account in his own commentaries, no more than three thouſand five hundred and five. But Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus does not tell us that there were two engagements near Aſculum, nor that the victory was clear on the ſide of Pyrrhus: he ſays that there was no more than one engagement, which held till the ſun was down; that Pyrrhus was wounded in his arm by a javelin; that the Samnites plundered his baggage; that the night coming on, the armies ſeparated with great unwillingneſs; and that there were about fifteen thouſand men killed on both ſides. When both armies were retired, and Pyrrhus was congratulated on account of the victory, he replied, *Such another will undo us utterly.* For indeed he had loſt the greateſt part of the forces he brought with him out of Epire, and almoſt all his particular friends and principal commanders; ſo that there were none left there for recruits, and he ſaw the confederates very ſlow in their motions. On the other hand, as from a fountain continually flowing out of the city, the Roman camp was quickly and plentifully filled up with freſh men, not at all abating in courage, but rather, from the rage which their loſſes inſpired them with, receiving freſh force and reſolution to purſue the war.

In the midſt of theſe difficulties his mind was again poſſeſſed with vain hopes and airy projects; and different enterpriſes preſenting themſelves together, kept him in ſuſpenſe and perplexity. For at the ſame time that ambaſſadors arrived out of Sicily offering to ſurrender to him Syracuſe, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, and requeſting him to drive the Carthaginians out of the iſland, and clear it of tyrants; news was brought him out of Greece, that Ptolemy called *Ceraunus* was ſlain in battle by the Gauls, and that now was the

proper

proper time for him to come, the Macedonians being at a great loſs for a king *. Here he began to accuſe fortune for preſenting to him two ſuch glorious opportunities of action at the ſame time. And conſidering that if he laid hold on the one, he muſt of neceſſity relinquiſh the other, he was a long time perplexed in his thoughts before he could come to any determination. At laſt it appeared to him that the Sicilian expedition was (from the nearneſs of Africa) of greater importance, and promiſed him a larger field of glory. Being determined by this conſideration, he inſtantly diſpatched Cineas, whom he uſually employed on thoſe occaſions, to treat with the cities, and prepare them for his arrival. In the mean time he placed a ſtrong garriſon in Tarentum much againſt the will of the inhabitants, who required him either to perform what he came for, which was to ſtay and continue the war againſt the Romans, or if he would be gone, to leave the city as he found it. He returned no agreeable anſwer to this remonſtrance, but commanded them to be quiet and wait his time, and ſo failed away.

Being arrived in Sicily, his hopes were effectually accompliſhed, and the cities readily ſubmitted to him. Where-ever his arms and force were neceſſary, nothing at firſt made any conſiderable reſiſtance. But with thirty thouſand foot, two thouſand five hundred horſe, and two hundred ſhips, he totally routed the Phœnicians, and overturned their whole government. Eryx being the ſtrongeſt town they held, and having a great garriſon in it, he reſolved to take it by ſtorm. The army being in readineſs to give the aſſault, he put on his

* Ptolemy Ceraunus, the ſon of Philadelphus, had been ſlain during the conſulate of Lævinus, three years before Pyrrhus received thoſe letters. Plutarch means, without doubt, that Pyrrhus was given to underſtand, that, by reaſon of his great reputation, the Macedonians would prefer him to Antigonus.

armour,

armour, and placing himſelf at the head of his men, made a vow to Hercules of games and ſacrifices in grateful acknowledgment of the victory, if he ſignalized himſelf in that day's action before the Greeks that dwelt in Sicily, as became his great deſcent and his fortunes. He then gave the ſignal by ſound of trumpet, drove the Barbarians from the walls with a ſhower of arrows, planted his ladders, and was himſelf the firſt that mounted. Being there attacked by a great number of enemies, ſome of them he drove back, others he flung headlong down on each ſide; but the greateſt part he ſlew with his ſword, ſo that their bodies lay in heaps around him. He himſelf, however, received no wound; and his aſpect was ſo terrible to the enemy, that he proved the truth of Homer's obſervation, *that of all the virtues, fortitude alone is often inſpired with furious and enthuſiaſtic tranſports.* The city being taken, he performed a magnificent ſacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited ſhows and combats of all ſorts.

Of all the Barbarians, thoſe who inhabited the city of Meſſina, and were called *Mamertines*, were moſt oppreſſive to the Greeks. For they had made moſt of them tributaries, being a very numerous, powerful, and warlike people; for this reaſon they were called *Mamertines*, from a word which in the language of the Romans ſignifies *warlike*. Pyrrhus ſeized their collectors, and put them to death; after which he engaged with the Mamertines in a pitched battle, overthrew them, and deſtroyed moſt of their fortified towns. The Carthaginians, being inclined to an accommodation, offered to pay a ſum of money, and to furniſh him with ſhipping, upon condition a peace might be eſtabliſhed between them; but he, aſpiring after ſomething greater, anſwered them, that the only terms on which a peace was to be granted, were for them entirely to abandon Sicily, and conſent that the

Libyan

Libyan ſea ſhould be the limit between them and the Greeks.

Being now elated with his good fortune and the power he had acquired, he determined to purſue that plan for the ſake of which he firſt undertook this expedition. His chief aim was at Africa. He had a number of ſhips anſwerable to that deſign, but they were thinly manned; and when he began to raiſe ſeamen, inſtead of behaving to the cities with lenity and moderation, he in an arbitrary manner forced their men into the ſervice, threatening to puniſh thoſe very ſeverely who did not provide the complement demanded of them. This was quite different from his conduct towards them at his firſt arrival; for then he endeavoured by kindneſs to gain the affections of the people, placed an entire confidence in them, and abſtained from all violence and oppreſſion. But his behaviour being now changed from mild and popular to ſevere and tyrannical, he incurred the reproach not only of cruelty, but of falſehood and ingratitude. Neceſſity however obliged them to ſupply him, though unwillingly, with what he demanded. But what chiefly alienated them from him, was his behaviour to Thonon and Soſtratus, two perſons of the greateſt authority in all Syracuſe. It was at their invitation that he firſt ſet ſail for Sicily; they were the men who ſurrendered the city to him at his arrival, and were his principal agents in every tranſaction afterwards. Notwithſtanding this he grew jealous of them, and was unwilling either that they ſhould attend him in his expedition, or ſtay behind. Soſtratus, out of fear of what might happen, withdrew himſelf; but Thonon was ſeized by order of Pyrrhus, who accuſed him of being an accomplice with Soſtratus, and put him to death. This injurious proceeding quite ruined his affairs, and that not by little and little, but all at once. For the hatred the cities had on this account conceived againſt

gainſt him was ſo great, that ſome of them fell off to the Carthaginians, and others confederated againſt him with the Mamertines.

While they were revolting on all ſides, and a general inſurrection was apprehended, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, informing him, that they had been beaten quite out of the field, and were no longer able to ſecure their towns againſt the Romans, and earneſtly requeſting his aſſiſtance. Theſe letters furniſhed him with an honourable pretence to quit Sicily, as one not forced from thence, or deſpairing of ſucceſs; though in reality he found it impoſſible to make himſelf maſter of the iſland, and therefore abandoned it as a ſhip diſtreſſed in a ſtorm, and threw himſelf once more upon Italy. It is reported, that, at his going off, he looked back upon the iſland, and ſaid to thoſe about him, *How glorious a field of war do we leave, my friends, for the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in!* and his conjecture was ſoon after verified.

Soon after he had ſet ſail, the Barbarians having confederated againſt him, he was forced to come to an engagement with the Carthaginians in his paſſage; and after he had loſt many of his ſhips, he fled with the reſt into Italy. Upon his arrival, he was attacked by the Mamertines, who to the number of ten thouſand men had paſſed over before him. They thought it not ſafe to engage him in a pitched battle; but lying in wait for him where the paſſages were difficult, they fell upon him, and put his whole army into confuſion. He loſt two of his elephants on this occaſion; and great part of his rear was cut in pieces. He immediately advanced in perſon from the van to their aſſiſtance, and behaved with ſurpriſing valour againſt men, perſonally exaſperated, and by long practice trained to war; till having receiving a wound in his hand, he was forced to retire a little from the place of action. This ſerved ſtill to heighten the courage of the Barbarians,

Barbarians, ſo that one of them of an uncommon ſize, and ſplendidly armed, advanced before the ranks, and with a loud diſdainful voice challenged the king *if he was alive to come forth*. Pyrrhus enraged at this challenge, returned, attended by his guards, to the battle, in ſpite of thoſe who were about him; and ſtorming with indignation, and all over beſmeared with blood, ſo that he was a figure terrible to behold, he pierced through his battalions, ruſhed upon the Barbarian, and without allowing him time to aſſault him, or defend himſelf, gave him ſuch a blow on the head with his ſword, that what with the ſtrength of his arm, and the excellent temper of the weapon, the edge paſſed downward to his very ſeat; ſo that in a moment his body was divided, and the parts fell aſunder. This put a ſtop to the courſe of the Barbarians, who looked on Pyrrhus with aſtoniſhment and admiration, and conſidered him as ſomething more than mortal. After this he continued his march all the reſt of the way undiſturbed, and arrived at Tarentum with twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; where reinforcing himſelf with the choiceſt troops of the Tarentines, he advanced immediately againſt the Romans, who then lay encamped in the territories of the Samnites. The Samnites were now very much diſtreſſed and diſpirited by the many defeats they had ſuffered from the Romans. They were alſo diſcontented with Pyrrhus, for his expedition into Sicily; ſo that not many came in to join him. Notwithſtanding which, he divided his army into two parts, and ſent the firſt into Lucania, to oppoſe one of the conſuls there, and hinder him from aſſiſting his colleague, whilſt he marched in perſon againſt Manius Curius the other conſul, who had poſted himſelf very advantageouſly near Beneventum, where he lay in expectation of reinforcements from his colleague; and as the augurs had warned him againſt engaging for

the preſent in any enterpriſe, he reſolved to abſtain from action. But Pyrrhus being eager to engage him before the other could join him, made a draught of the beſt men out of all his troops, and chuſing the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt of his elephants, marched by night towards the Roman camp. But as he was forced to go round about, and traverſe a woody country, his flambeaux failed him, and his ſoldiers loſt their way in the dark; which obliged him to halt for ſome time, in order to rally them. In the mean time day began to appear, and his approach was diſcovered by the Romans as he was coming down the hills, which put the whole camp into great diſorder. But the conſul finding the ſacrifices auſpicious, and the time abſolutely obliging him to fight, he drew a party out of the trenches, and fell in with the vanguard of the enemy, and having routed them, all the army was in a conſternation, ſo that a great many were killed, and ſome of the elephants taken. This ſucceſs encouraged Manius to draw out his whole army, and engage the enemy in a pitched battle. One of his wings defeated one of the enemy's; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and forced back to the trenches. He then ordered thoſe troops to advance which he had left behind to guard the camp, who were a ſtrong body, all freſh men and well armed. Theſe ruſhing down from their advantageous ſtations, wounded the elephants with their darts, and made them turn back and fall upon their own battalions, which occaſioned ſuch a confuſion and diſorder, that in the end it ſecured the victory to the Romans, and with the victory the enlargement and ſtability of their empire. For, in conſequence of their ſucceſs in this war, their ſpirits were ſtill more elevated, their power was increaſed, and they began to be looked upon as invincible; ſo that they ſoon over-run all Italy, and not long after Sicily too.

Thus fell Pyrrhus from his Italian and Sicilian hopes,

hopes, after he had consumed six years in these wars. But though unsuccessful, yet he preserved his courage unconquerable amidst all these misfortunes, and was held for military skill and personal valour, much the greatest of all the princes of his time. But what he got by great actions, he lost again by vain hopes; for his eager desire and pursuit after what he had not, hindered him from keeping what he had; which made Antigonus compare him to one who at dice threw very successfully, but knew not how to make the best of his game. He returned into Epirus with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and for want of money was obliged to look out for a new war to maintain them. Some of the Gauls joining him, he invaded Macedon, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius reigned. He designed only to plunder and ravage the country; but after he had made himself master of several towns, and two thousand men had come over to him, he began to hope for something greater, and marched against Antigonus himself; and meeting him at a narrow passage, he put his whole army into disorder; but the Gauls who brought up Antigonus's rear, and who were very numerous, stood firm; and a sharp engagement ensuing, the greatest part of them were cut off. They who had the charge of the elephants, being surrounded every way, delivered up both themselves and the beasts. Pyrrhus, after this advantage, advising more with his good fortune, than his reason, boldly attacked the Macedonian phalanx; but they being terrified and disordered, by the defeat of the other part of the army, declined coming to an engagement with him. When he perceived this, stretching out his hand he called aloud both to the chief commanders and inferior officers, and prevailed upon them together with that whole body of infantry to desert Antigonus, who was thereupon forced to fly, and

endeavour to retain ſome of the maritime towns in their obedience.

Pyrrhus, among all theſe favours of fortune, thinking what he had effected againſt the Gauls the moſt glorious exploit, hung up the richeſt of their ſpoils in the temple of Minerva Itonis *, with this inſcription:

Theſe ſhields which Pyrrhus from the Gauls
Snatch'd boldly by Minerva's aid,
He hung upon theſe ſacred walls,
In honour of the blue-ey'd maid.

Though all the Gallic hoſt he ſlew,
And proud Antigonus o'ercame,
'Tis but to conquer; nothing new,
For all his race have done the ſame.

After this battle, he quickly made himſelf maſter of the cities. When he had taken Ægæ, beſide other hardſhips put upon the inhabitants, he left in the town a garriſon, conſiſting of ſome of thoſe Gauls that had ſerved him in his army. The Gauls are the moſt covetous and inſatiable of all men; and they were no ſooner put in poſſeſſion of the place, but they inſtantly dug up the tombs of the kings that lay buried there, ſeized on all the wealth that had been interred with them, and ſcattered about their bones with an inſolent contempt. Pyrrhus ſeemed not in the leaſt offended at this ignominious inſult, either deferring to call the authors of it to an account for the preſent, becauſe he had at that time other affairs of greater moment upon his hands, or intending wholly to paſs it by, as being afraid to puniſh thoſe barbarians. However by this connivance he loſt his credit with the Macedo-

* There were two temples dedicated to Minerva under that name, one near Lariſſa in Theſſaly, and the other near Coronea in Bœotia. Plutarch ſpeaks here of the firſt. Minerva was called *Itonis*, from Itonis the ſon of Amphictyon.

nians.

nians. But though his intereſt was ſtill doubtful, and in an unſettled condition, he notwithſtanding entertained new viſionary hopes, and in raillery called Antigonus impudent, becauſe he had not put on the habit of a private perſon, but ſtill preſumed to wear the purple.

About this time Cleonymus the Lacedæmonian arrived at his court, and earneſtly preſſing him to march with his army to Sparta, Pyrrhus very readily embraced the overture. Cleonymus was of the royal blood, but ſeeming too arbitrary and abſolute, had no great reſpect nor credit in Sparta, where Areus reigned peaceably in his ſtead. This was the occaſion of an old and public grudge between him and the citizens. Cleonymus in his old age had married a lady of great beauty, and of the royal family, called *Chelidonis*, daughter of Leotychidas. This woman falling deſperately in love with Acrotatus, Areus's ſon, a very beautiful youth, rendered this match both uneaſy and diſhonourable to Cleonymus; for there was not a man in Sparta who did not very well know how much his wife ſlighted him. Theſe domeſtic troubles, added to his public diſcontent, provoked him to fly to Pyrrhus, who, at his inſtigation, marched againſt Sparta with an army of twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty four elephants. But ſuch great preparations made it evident to the whole world, that he came not ſo much to gain Sparta for Cleonymus, as to take all Peloponneſus for himſelf: yet he expreſsly denied this to the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors who came to him to Megalopolis, affirming that he only intended to ſet thoſe cities free which were under the dominion of Antigonus, and ſignifying that if he might be permitted, he intended to ſend his youngeſt ſons to Sparta, there to be inſtituted in the manners and diſcipline of the Lacedæmonians, that they might by this means excel other kings and princes.

With theſe pretences he amuſed thoſe who came to meet him in his march: but as ſoon as ever he entered Laconia, he began to plunder and ravage the country; and when the ambaſſadors complained that thoſe acts of hoſtility were committed when war was not proclaimed, *Very true*, he replied, *and do not we know that you Lacedæmonians never make public proclamation of your intentions?* At which a Spartan who was preſent, named *Mandricidas*, anſwered him in the Laconic dialect, *If thou art a God, thou wilt do us no harm, becauſe we have done thee none; and if thou art but a man, we may find ſome other as ſtrong as thyſelf.*

In the mean time he continued his march towards Lacedæmon, and was adviſed by Cleonymus to give the aſſault as ſoon as he arrived; but Pyrrhus, as we are told, fearing leſt the ſoldiers ſhould plunder the city if they took it by ſtorm in the night, deferred the aſſault till the morning: for he knew there were but few men in the town, and thoſe unprovided, by reaſon of his ſudden approach, and becauſe Areus the king was not there in perſon, but gone into Crete to the ſuccour of the Gortynians. The ſafety of the city was principally owing to Pyrrhus's contempt of its weakneſs. For imagining that no defence would be made, he contented himſelf with encamping under the walls; though the Helots and Cleonymus's friends had been at the pains to prepare every thing in his houſe for the reception of Pyrrhus, not doubting but they ſhould have him there at ſupper.

Night being come, the Lacedæmonians determined in council to ſend the women over into Crete; but they unanimouſly oppoſed it; and one of them, called *Archidamia*, entering the ſenate with a ſword in her hand, upbraided them in the name of the reſt for thinking that the women would outlive the loſs of Sparta.

It

It was next reſolved to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to ſink waggons into the ground, as deep as the naves of the wheels, that ſo being firmly fixed, they might obſtruct the paſſage of the elephants. When they had juſt begun the work, both maids and women came to them; ſome with their robes tucked up, and others in their under garments only, to aſſiſt the elder ſort of men. They exhorted thoſe who were of an age fit to bear arms, and were to engage the next day, to repoſe themſelves in the night; then they meaſured the intended length of the trench, and took upon themſelves a third part of it, which they finiſhed before it was day. This trench was in breadth ſix cubits, four in depth, and eight hundred feet long, as Phylarchus ſays. Hieronymus makes it ſomewhat leſs.

As ſoon as the day began to break, the enemy were in motion; whereupon the women arming the youth with their own hands, gave them charge of the trench, injoining them to defend it to the laſt extremity, telling them, *How delightful it muſt be to conquer in the view of their whole country, and how glorious to die in the arms of their wives and mothers, falling as became Spartans.* As for Chelidonis, ſhe retired with a halter about her neck, reſolving to die ſo, rather than fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if the city were taken.

Pyrrhus himſelf, in perſon, laboured with his infantry to force through the ſhields of the Spartans ranged againſt him, and to get over the trench, which was ſcarce paſſable, becauſe the looſeneſs of the freſh earth afforded no firm footing for the ſoldiers. At the ſame time Ptolemy, Pyrrhus's ſon, with two thouſand Gauls, and ſome choice men of the Chaonians, making a circuit, endeavoured to force a paſſage where they had planted the waggons; but they were fixed ſo deep in the ground, and placed ſo cloſe together, that they did not only

obſtruct

obſtruct their paſſage, but rendered it difficult for the Spartans to come up, and make a cloſer defence. The Gauls however having with much difficulty forced the wheels out of the earth, were drawing the chariots towards an adjacent river. Young Acrotatus firſt of all perceived the danger, and paſſing with great expedition through the city at the head of three hundred men, and taking the advantage of ſome hollow ways, he on a ſudden ſurrounded Ptolemy, and falling upon his rear, forced him to face about, and ſtand upon the defenſive. In this diſorder Ptolemy's ſoldiers ran foul upon one another, and many fell into the trench, or under the waggons, till after a long diſpute, and great ſlaughter, they were repulſed and put to flight. The old men, and moſt of the women beheld this action; and when they ſaw Acrotatus returning back into the city to repoſſeſs himſelf of his former poſt, all covered with blood, and fierce and elate with victory, he ſeemed to the Spartan women more graceful and beautiful than ever, and they envied Chelidonis ſo worthy a lover. And ſome of the old men followed him, crying aloud, *Go on, Acrotatus, enjoy Chelidonis, and get brave boys for Sparta.* The action was hotteſt where Pyrrhus himſelf fought; there many of the Spartans ſignalized themſelves, and particularly Phyllius, who having killed moſt of thoſe that preſſed upon him in order to force a paſſage, when he found himſelf ready to ſink with the many wounds he had received, ſurrendered his poſt to one of the officers who was near him, and retiring backward, fell dead in the midſt of his own party, that the enemy might not carry off his body. The fight ended with the day; and Pyrrhus in his ſleep dreamed that an eagle threw lightning upon Lacedæmon, and ſet it all on fire, and that he rejoiced at the ſight. In this tranſport of joy he awaked, and commanded his officers to get all things ready for a ſecond aſſault; and interpreting his dream

dream among his friends, that he ſhould take the town by ſtorm, ſeveral aſſented to it with admiration; but Lyſimachus was not pleaſed with the dream, and told him he feared, leſt as places ſtruck with lightning are held ſacred, and not to be entered, ſo the gods might by this let him know the city ſhould not be taken. Pyrrhus replied, *Such ſort of viſions, and their interpretations, are things full of uncertainty, and only fit to amuſe the vulgar; but that, my friends, which is moſt certain, is, that every man ought to arm, and ſay to himſelf,*

The beſt of omens is great Pyrrhus' cauſe *.

At theſe words he aroſe, and by break of day began the attack.

The Lacedæmonians defended themſelves with a courage and reſolution above their ſtrength; nor would the women forſake them, but were conſtantly at hand to ſupply them with arms, to give bread and drink to thoſe who wanted it, and carry off ſuch as were diſabled. The Macedonians attempted to fill up the trench, bringing great quantities of materials, and throwing them upon the arms and dead bodies that lay there. While the Lacedæmonians oppoſed this with all their force, Pyrrhus on a ſudden appeared on their ſide of the trench, where the waggons had been planted to ſtop the paſſage, preſſing on towards the city; at which the ſoldiers who had been placed at that poſt made a great noiſe, and the women ſhrieked out, and fled. Pyrrhus in the mean time puſhed on with great violence, overthrowing all that had the courage to oppoſe him. But his horſe receiving a wound in the belly with a Cretan arrow, ran away, and by his violent convulſive motions as he died, threw off Pyrrhus on ſlippery and very ſteep ground; at

* This is a parody of that celebrated verſe ſpoken by Hector to Polydamas in the twelfth book of the Iliad. *The beſt of omens is our country's cauſe.*

which

which all his friends running towards him in great confuſion, the Spartans came boldly up, and making good uſe of their arrows, forced them off again. This cauſed Pyrrhus to retreat a ſecond time, thinking the Lacedæmonians would abate of their vigour, when almoſt all of them were wounded, and very great numbers killed. But the good fortune of Sparta, either becauſe ſhe had already made a ſufficient trial what the unaſſiſted valour of the citizens would perform, or that the world might ſee on this occaſion how great a power ſhe has in the moſt dangerous and critical circumſtances, then when the Lacedemonians began to be in the utmoſt deſpair, brought to their relief from Corinth Ameinias the Phocean, one of Antigonus's officers, with an army of ſtrangers; and they were no ſooner received into the town, but Areus their king arrived there himſelf from Crete with two thouſand men more. The women upon this went all home to their houſes, finding it no longer neceſſary for them to concern themſelves with the war; all the old men likewiſe, who, notwithſtanding their age, had in that exigence been forced to take arms, were ſent home, and their places were ſupplied by the new comers.

Theſe two reinforcements ſerved only the more to animate the courage and ambition of Pyrrhus. But his deſigns not ſucceeding, after many loſſes and defeats, he gave over the ſiege, and fell to plunder the country, determining to winter thereabout. But fate is unavoidable. At that time a great feud happening at Argos between Ariſteas and Ariſtippus, two of the principal citizens, and Ariſtippus having reſolved to make uſe of the friendſhip of Antigonus, Ariſteas to prevent him invited Pyrrhus thither. He whoſe mind was filled with a perpetual ſucceſſion of new hopes and projects, who by victory was encouraged to make freſh acquiſitions, and who after a defeat always ſought to compenſate his loſs by gaining

ing ſome other advantage, and whoſe reſtleſs turbulent ſpirit could not therefore be reſtrained either by ſucceſs or diſappointment, no ſooner received this invitation from Ariſteas, but he immediately marched for Argos. Areus, by frequent ambuſhes, and taking poſſeſſion of the moſt difficult paſſages, cut off many of the Gauls and Moloſſians that brought up the rear. It had been told Pyrrhus by one of the prieſts, who had found the liver of the ſacrificed beaſt without a head, that ſome of his near relations would be loſt; notwithſtanding which, in this tumult and diſorder, forgetting the prediction, he ſent his ſon Ptolemy with ſome of his guards to the aſſiſtance of the rear, whilſt he continued his march, and got clear of thoſe dangerous paſſes. In the mean time the fight grew very warm where Ptolemy was engaged; for the beſt of the Lacedemonian troops were there under the command of Evalcus. In the heat of the action a Cretan of Aptera named *Oræſus*, a man of great ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, wounded the young prince in the ſide as he was fighting with great valour, ſo that he died upon the ſpot. As ſoon as he fell, thoſe who had followed him turned their backs, and fled. The Lacedæmonian horſe purſuing them and killing many of them, were got into the open field, and engaged with the enemy before they were aware, and at a great diſtance from the infantry, who could not keep pace with them. Pyrrhus, who had received the ill news of his ſon's death, and was moſt bitterly afflicted at it, drew out his Moloſſian horſe againſt them, and charging at the head of his men, ſatiated himſelf with the blood and ſlaughter of the Lacedæmonians. He always indeed appeared great and invincible in arms, but he now exceeded all he had ever done before in courage and force. Having found out Evalcus, he rode directly againſt him; but Evalcus being aware of him inclined on one ſide, and at the ſame time aimed ſuch a

ſtroke

ſtroke at Pyrrhus's left hand, that he imagined he muſt have cut it off; but the blow lighting on the the reins cut them only, whilſt Pyrrhus ſeizing the favourable moment run him through with his javelin. Then ſpringing from his horſe, he fought on foot, and made a terrible havock of all thoſe brave Lacedæmonians who endeavoured to protect the body of Evalcus. This loſs, which was no inconſiderable one on the ſide of the Spartans, was purely owing to the headſtrong ambition of their commanders; for the war was at an end before the engagement.

Pyrrhus having thus offered ſo many of his enemies as it were in ſacrifice to the ghoſt of his ſon, and made this fight a kind of funeral ſolemnity, converting much of his grief into rage and fury, continued his march to Argos. At his arrival he had intelligence that Antigonus kept the high grounds; wherefore he encamped near the city of Nauplia. The next day he diſpatched an herald to Antigonus, calling him a villain, and challenging him to deſcend into the open field, and fight with him for the kingdom. Antigonus anſwered, *that he made war not with his arms only, but with time; and that if Pyrrhus was weary of life, there were ways enough to death that lay open before him.* To both the kings there came ambaſſadors from Argos, deſiring each party to retreat, and not ſuffer that city to fall into the hands of either of them, which had a great honour for both. Antigonus was perſuaded, and ſent his ſon as an hoſtage to the Argives; Pyrrhus at the ſame time promiſed to retire, but ſending no hoſtage, he was much ſuſpected.

In the mean time Pyrrhus was alarmed by a very extraordinary and tremendous prodigy; for the heads of the ſacrificed oxen lying apart from their bodies, were ſeen to thruſt out their tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in the very city of Argos, a prieſteſs of Apollo Lycius ran about the

ſtreets,

ſtreets, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of carcaſes and ſlaughter, and an eagle joining in the fight, and immediately vaniſhing. In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding the gate called *Diamperes*, ſet open by Ariſteas, was undiſcovered till his Gauls had entered, and taken poſſeſſion of the market-place; but the gate being too low to let in the elephants, they were obliged to take down their towers, and put them on again, which could not be done in the dark, and in that confuſion, without a noiſe, and loſs of time, which occaſioned their diſcovery. The Argives, ſeeing the enemy in their city, ran to Aſpis *, the chief citadel, and other places of defence, and ſent to Antigonus, deſiring him to haſten to their aſſiſtance. Antigonus advanced near the walls, but would not enter the city, chuſing rather to be upon the watch without, and act as occaſion offered. However, he ſent in ſome of his principal commanders and his ſon with a very conſiderable force.

At the ſame time Areus arrived at Argos with a thouſand Cretans, and the moſt active of the Spartans. All theſe troops being joined, fell at once upon the Gauls, and put them into great diſorder. Pyrrhus entered in with a mighty noiſe and ſhouting at a place called *Cylarabis* †; when the Gauls returned the ſhout, their cry did not expreſs courage and cheerfulneſs, but diſtreſs and terror. Therefore

* There was a feaſt obſerved annually at Argos in honour of Juno, at which time they offered a ſacrifice of a hundred oxen, for that reaſon called *Hecatombæa, the feaſt of the Hecatomb.* At this feaſt all the youth exerted their ſtrength for the obtaining a prize propoſed on that occaſion. There was a quarter above the theatre ſtrongly ſituated, where in the moſt difficult part they nailed a brazen buckler in ſuch a manner, that it was very hard to pluck it off. All the youth tried their utmoſt ſtrength on that occaſion, and he who prevailed was declared conqueror, and in acknowledgment of his victory was preſented with a myrtle garland, and a brazen buckler. From hence the place where this conteſt was held was called *Aſpis*, that is, *the buckler*.

† Cylarabis was a place of exerciſe near one of the gates of Argos.

Pyrrhus advanced in haſte, though his men marched in great danger by reaſon of the drains and ſinks, of which the city was full. In this night-engagement, there was infinite confuſion, it being impoſſible to ſee what was done, or to know what was commanded; the ſoldiers were ſcattered about, and loſt their way among the narrow ſtreets; conduct and diſcipline were of no uſe in that darkneſs, amidſt that variety of noiſes, and in ſuch ſtrait paſſages; ſo that both ſides continued without doing any thing, ſtill expecting day-light. At the firſt dawn Pyrrhus ſeeing the citadel Aſpis full of men, was under great conſternation, eſpecially when among the many figures of excellent workmanſhip erected in the market-place, he beheld that of a wolf and bull caſt in braſs, that ſeemed ready to attack each other. This ſight brought to his remembrance an oracle he had formerly received, foretelling him *that he was fated to die when he ſhould ſee a wolf encountering a bull.* The Argives ſay theſe figures were erected in memory of an accident which happened long before in their country. For they tell us, that when Danaus firſt invaded their territories, as he paſſed by a place called *Pyramia*, in Thyreatis, leading to Argos, he ſaw a wolf fighting with a bull, and imagining the wolf to repreſent him, (for being a ſtranger he fell upon a native, as he himſelf deſigned to do), he ſtaid to ſee the iſſue of the fight; and the wolf prevailing, after he had offered his devotions to Apollo Lycius, he aſſaulted and took the town, Gelanor, who was then king, being diſplaced by a faction: and this was the cauſe of dedicating thoſe figures. Pyrrhus quite diſpirited at this ſight, and ſeeing none of his deſigns ſucceed, thought it beſt to retreat; but fearing the ſtrait paſſage at the gates, he ſent to his ſon Helenus, who was left without the town with a great body of forces, commanding him to break down part of the wall, and aſſiſt the retreat if the enemy

preſſed

preſſed hard upon them. But the perſon whom he ſent, miſtaking the order through haſte and confuſion, delivered it in a quite contrary ſenſe; ſo that the young prince taking with him the beſt of his men, and the remaining elephants, marched ſtraight through the gates into the town, to aſſiſt his father. Pyrrhus was now making good his retreat; and while the market-place afforded him ground enough both to retreat and fight, he frequently repulſed the enemy that bore upon him; but when he was forced out of that broad place into a narrow ſtreet leading to the gate, he fell in with thoſe who came the other way to his aſſiſtance. It was in vain for him to call out to them to fall back and clear the ſtreets; he could be heard but by few of them, and thoſe who did hear him and were moſt diſpoſed to obey his orders, were hindered by thoſe who continually preſſed upon them from the rear, and puſhed them forwards. Beſides, the largeſt of the elephants falling down on his ſide, in the very gate, and terribly braying, lay in the way of thoſe who would have got out. Another of theſe elephants already in the town, called *Nicon*, ſtriving to take up his rider, who, after many wounds received, was fallen off his back, ruſhed forward upon them that retreated, and thruſting as well friends as enemies, tumbled them all confuſedly upon one another, till having found the body, and taken it up with his trunk, he carried it on his teeth, and returning in a great rage, trod down all before him. Being thus preſſed and crouded together, not a man could do any thing ſingly, but the whole multitude being wedged cloſe, as it were one maſs, rolled and ſwayed this way and that all together. They did very little execution upon the enemy, either in their front or rear, but very much harm to one another. If any man had drawn his ſword, or levelled his pike, he could neither recover the one, nor put up the other, but wounded at random thoſe who hap-

pened to be near him; ſo that many of them fell by the hands of their companions. Pyrrhus ſeeing this dreadful ſtorm and confuſion, took off the crown he wore upon his helmet, by which he was diſtinguiſhed, and gave it to one of his friends; then truſting to the goodneſs of his horſe, he rode in among the thickeſt of the enemy. Being wounded with a lance through his breaſt-plate, but not dangerouſly, nor indeed very much, he turned about to him that ſtruck him, who was not a man of note, but the ſon of a poor woman in Argos. She was looking upon the fight among other women, from the top of an houſe, and perceiving her ſon engaged with Pyrrhus, and affrighted at the danger he was in, took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus, which falling on his head, and bruiſing the vertebræ of the lower part of the neck, his eye-ſight immediately failed, his hands dropped the reins, and ſinking down from his horſe, he fell juſt by the tomb of Ilyoimnius. The common ſoldiers knew not who it was; but one Zopyrus, that ſerved under Antigonus, and two or three others running thither, and knowing him to be Pyrrhus, dragged him to a threſhold hard by, juſt as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus drawing out an Illyrian ſword was going to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus gave him ſo fierce a look, that he confounded him with terror; however he ſtill endeavoured to do it, though being full of fear and confuſion, and his hands trembling, he could not ſtrike him right, but wounded him in the mouth and chin, ſo that it was a long time before he could get the head off.

The report of this action was ſoon ſpread about, and Alcyoneus, the ſon of Antigonus, haſtening to the place, aſked for the head, as if he only intended to look upon it; but as ſoon as he took it in his hand, he rode away with it to his father, whom he found diſcourſing with ſome of his friends, and laid

it

it at his feet. Antigonus looking upon it, and knowing it, thruſt his ſon from him, and ſtruck him with his cane, calling him impious and cruel; then covering his eyes with his robe, he fell a-weeping from the remembrance of the death of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of his father Demetrius, two domeſtic inſtances of the inſtability of fortune. He then cauſed the head and body of Pyrrhus to be burned with all due ſolemnity. After this, Alcyoneus diſcovering Helenus under a mean diſguiſe, uſed him very reſpectfully, and brought him to his father: when Antigonus ſaw him, *This, my ſon*, ſaid he, *was done much more nobly than before; but yet you are ſtill deficient, in that you have not taken off that coat which is a ſcandal to us who have got the victory.* And then treating Helenus with great kindneſs, he reſtored him to his kingdom of Epirus, and gave the ſame obliging reception to all Pyrrhus's principal commanders, after he had reduced the whole army under his obedience.

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARIUS.

WE are altogether ignorant of the third name of Caius Marius; as likewiſe of that of Quintus Sertorius who poſſeſſed himſelf of Spain; and of Lucius Mummius who deſtroyed Corinth: though this laſt was furnamed *Achaicus*, from his conqueſts, as Scipio was called *Africanus*, and Metellus *Macedonicus*. Hence Poſidonius draws his chief argument to confute thoſe who hold the third to be the Roman proper name, as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*; becauſe then they who had but two names would have no proper name. But he did not conſider, that by the very ſame reaſon he muſt rob the women abſolutely of their names, for none of them have the firſt, which Poſidonius imagines the proper name with the Romans. Of the other names, one was common to the whole family, as the Pompeii, Manlii, Cornelii, as with us Grecians, the Heraclidæ, and Pelopidæ; the other titular, and given them on account of their natural diſpoſitions, their actions, or the form of their bodies; as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla; ſuch alſo is Mnemon, Grypus, and Callinicus among the Grecians. But of the variety of names, would we inſiſt

ſiſt upon it, the irregularity of cuſtom might furniſh us with diſcourſe enough *.

We have ſeen the ſtatue of Marius in ſtone at Ravenna in Gaul, which ſtrongly expreſſes that roughneſs and ſourneſs of manners by which he was diſtinguiſhed; for being naturally valiant and warlike, more acquainted alſo with the diſcipline of the camp than of the city, he could not moderate his paſſion, when in authority. He is ſaid neither to have ſtudied the Grecian literature, nor ever to have made uſe of that language in any matter of conſequence; as thinking it ridiculous to beſtow time in that learning, the teachers whereof were little better than the ſlaves of the Romans. After his ſecond triumph, when, at the dedication of a temple, he preſented the people with ſhows after the manner of the Greeks, he came indeed into the theatre and ſat down, but immediately roſe up again and departed. Wherefore, as Plato often uſed to ſay to Xenocrates the philoſopher, who was of a very moroſe diſpoſition, *Prithee, good Xenocrates, ſacrifice to the graces*; ſo if Marius could have been perſuaded to ſacrifice to the Greek muſes and graces, he had never brought his incomparable achievements, both in war and peace, to ſo unhappy a concluſion, or plunged himſelf into a ſavage and turbulent old age through his paſſion, ill-timed

* The Romans had uſually three names, the prænomen, nomen, and cognomen. In the times of the republic, the firſt was the proper name of the perſon, the ſecond the name of his family, and the third the name of that particular branch of the family to which he belonged; ſo that brothers were diſtinguiſhed only by the firſt name, as Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Quintus Tullius Cicero. But in latter times, under the emperors, this cuſtom was changed, and brothers were frequently diſtinguiſhed by their laſt name, as Titus Flavius Veſpaſianus, and Titus Flavius Sabinus. As to women, they generally had but one name which was that of the family, as Cornelia and Tullia. If there were two ſiſters, the one was called *Cornelia*, or *Tullia major*, the other *minor*; if there were more in number, they were diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of *prima*, *ſecunda*, *tertia*, &c. But anciently the women ſometimes had a prænomen too.

ambition,

ambition, and inſatiable avarice; but this will further appear in the ſequel, from his actions.

He was born of parents altogether obſcure and indigent, and who ſupported themſelves by their daily labour; his father was of the ſame name with himſelf, his mother was called *Fulcinia*. He came late to Rome; ſo that he had paſſed a conſiderable part of his time before he became acquainted with the refinements of the city. At firſt he lived in Cirræaton *, a village in the territory of Arpinum; his manner of life there was ruſtic and unpoliſhed, if compared with the elegant manners of the city; however, it was temperate, and much reſembled the ancient Roman ſeverity. He firſt ſerved in the war againſt the Celtiberes, when Scipio Africanus beſieged Numantia, where he ſoon ſignalized himſelf to his general, by his courage, very far above his comrades; and particularly by his ſo cheerfully complying with Scipio's reformation of his army, which was before almoſt ruined by pleaſure and luxury. It is reported alſo, that he encountered and vanquiſhed an enemy in his general's ſight; on which account he had ſeveral honours conferred upon him; and Scipio ſhowed him a particular reſpect; eſpecially once at an entertainment, when the diſcourſe turned upon the great commanders then in being, and one of the company, either out of complaiſance to the general, or becauſe it really was a doubt with him, aſked Scipio, *where the Romans ſhould find ſuch another general when he was gone?* Scipio gently clapping Marius on the ſhoulder, who ſat next him, replied, *Here, perhaps.* Such was the happy genius of thoſe two great men, one of whom in his very youth gave thoſe early promiſes of his future greatneſs, and the other could from

* In all probability this word has been corrupted, and ought to be read *Cernetum*.

ſuch

ſuch beginnings clearly foreſee that long ſeries of glory and renown which was to follow.

Marius fired with this ſpeech of Scipio, as with a divine oracle, immediately applied himſelf to public affairs, and by the aſſiſtance of Cæcilius Metellus (on whoſe family, both he and his anceſtors had always had a dependence) obtained the office of tribune of the people. In this office he propoſed a law to be paſſed for regulating the manner of voting, which was oppoſed by Cotta the conſul, who ſaw it tended to leſſen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature; wherefore he perſuaded the ſenate to declare againſt it, and ſummon Marius to appear, and give an account of his conduct. Cotta having obtained a decree for that purpoſe, Marius came into the ſenate, and behaved not like a young man newly advanced to authority, without having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by any conſiderable action; but aſſuming beforehand that courage and confidence * which was ſuitable to the exploits he afterwards performed, threatened Cotta, unleſs he recalled the decree, to put him in priſon. Cotta addreſſing himſelf to Metellus, aſked his opinion, and Metellus riſing from his ſeat voted with the conſul. Whereupon Marius calling for an officer, commanded him to take Metellus into cuſtody; and when Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, and not one of them offered to aſſiſt him, the ſenate complied, and repealed the decree. Marius, elevated with this victory, went in triumph out of the ſenate, and proceeding to the forum had his law confirmed in an aſſembly of the people.

* A great genius does not only receive courage and aſſurance from the actions he has already performed, but even from thoſe which are ſtill behind, and are not yet ripe for performance. The reaſon of this is clear; for the principle which is in due time to give life to thoſe actions, is within him; and he as it were borrows from them that aſſurance and confidence in himſelf, which he exerts beforehand.

He

He was from this time eſteemed a man of undaunted courage and reſolution, as well as a vigorous oppoſer of the ſenate in favour of the commons. But by an action of a contrary nature he ſoon deſtroyed the opinion that was entertained of his partiality to the Plebeians; for when a law concerning the diſtribution of corn was propoſed, he very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and carried it againſt the people, thereby making himſelf equally honoured by both parties, in gratifying neither contrary to the public intereſt.

When the year of his tribuneſhip was expired, he ſtood candidate for the office of chief ædile; for there are two orders of that magiſtracy; one called *Curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet in which the ædile ſits during the execution of his office; the other of an inferior nature called *the ædileſhip of the people*. The curule ædiles are firſt choſen, and when that election is over, the people immediately proceed to the choice of the others. When Marius found he could not carry the firſt, he dropped his pretenſions there, and put in for the ſecond. But as this proceeding ſeemed too bold and obſtinate, he miſcarried in that alſo. But though he was thus in one day twice fruſtrated of his deſired preferment (which never happened to any man before), yet he was not at all diſcouraged; for a little while after he ſtood for the prætorſhip, when he had like to have been repulſed again; and though he was returned laſt of all, he was nevertheleſs accuſed of acquiring it by indirect means. A ſervant of Caſſius Sabaco, who was obſerved within the rails among thoſe that voted, chiefly occaſioned the ſuſpicion; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius, he was therefore ſummoned before the judges, and interrogated. He alleged in his defence, that being thirſty by reaſon of the heat, he called for cold water, and that his ſervant brought him a cup, and departed as ſoon

as

as he had drank. However, he was excluded the ſenate by the ſucceeding cenſors, and not undeſervedly (as was thought), he having been guilty either of falſehood or intemperance. Caius Herennius was alſo cited as evidence againſt Marius, but he pleaded that it was not cuſtomary for patrons (for ſo the Romans call their advocates) to be witneſſes againſt their clients, and that the law excuſed them from that obligation; for both the family of Marius, and himſelf, had ever been clients * to that of the Herennii. When the judges ſeemed willing to accept of this plea, Marius himſelf oppoſed it, and told Herennius, that when he was firſt created magiſtrate, he ceaſed to be his client; which was not altogether true; for it is not every office that frees clients and their poſterity from the obſervance due to their patrons, but only thoſe to which the law has aſſigned a curule chair. Marius, however, was in great danger for ſome days at the beginning of the examination, and found the judges very unfavourable to him; yet at laſt their voices being equal, he was acquitted beyond expectation, but did nothing worthy notice in his prætorſhip.

At the expiration of the office, the province of the further Spain fell to his lot, which he is ſaid to have cleared of thieves; for the Spaniards in thoſe days were ſtill barbarous and uncivilized, and eſteemed robbery a noble and heroic employment. At his return to Rome, he was eagerly deſirous to have a ſhare in the adminiſtration, though he had neither riches nor eloquence, the two inſtruments by which the leading men in thoſe times governed the people. But the citizens being pleaſed with his high ſpirit, his indefatigable induſtry, and plain manner of living, ſoon advanced him to the higheſt offices in the government, by the means of

* See an account of the relation between patrons and clients, vol. i. p. 123.

which

which he acquired great wealth and power; ſo that he made a very honourable match with Julia, of the noble family of the Cæſars. That Cæſar who was afterwards ſo great among the Romans was her nephew, and on account of his relation to Marius, was very zealous for his honour; as in his life we have obſerved. They attribute to Marius both temperance and patience, of which latter he gave a ſignal proof in undergoing an operation of ſurgery; for having both his legs full of great tumours, and being troubled at this deformity, he determined to put himſelf into the hands of a ſurgeon; and without being tied, he ſtretched out one of his legs, and ſilently, without changing countenance, endured moſt exquiſite torments in the operation, never either ſhrinking or complaining; but when the ſurgeon was preparing to cut the other leg, he would not ſuffer him, ſaying, *I ſee the cure is not worth the pain.*

About this time Cæcilius Metellus * the conſul was declared general in the war againſt Jugurtha, and took with him Marius for one of his lieutenants. Marius, who ſaw he had now a favourable opportunity of performing great things, and making himſelf known, did not, like his colleagues, accommodate his actions to the intereſt of Metellus, and direct them to the increaſe of his reputation and glory; but imagining that it was not Metellus who had made him his lieutenant, but that fortune had placed him in that critical conjuncture upon a conſpicuous theatre, where he had an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by great exploits, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt. For as that war was always attended with extreme difficulty and

* Plutarch means Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who was conſul with M. Junius Silanus the fourth year of the 167th Olympiad, 107 years before the birth of our Saviour, and who in this expedition acquired the ſurname of *Numidicus*.

danger,

danger, he neither out of fear declined the moſt perilous ſervice, nor out of pride the moſt ſervile. He ſurpaſſed his equals in counſel and conduct, and matched even the common ſoldiers in labour and abſtemiouſneſs, by which he entirely gained their affections; for, by voluntarily partaking with them in their labour, he ſeemed to eaſe and refreſh them; ſo that their ſervice had no longer the appearance of conſtraint, but of choice and liberty. It is a moſt agreeable ſight to the Roman ſoldiers to ſee their commander eat the ſame bread with them, lie upon an ordinary bed, and aſſiſt in drawing a trench or raiſing a bulwark; for they do not ſo much admire thoſe who confer honours and riches upon them, as thoſe who partake of the ſame labour and danger with themſelves; and love him better who will aſſiſt them in their work, than him who encourages them in idleneſs.

Whilſt Marius was thus employed, and thereby ingratiated himſelf with the ſoldiers, he immediately filled both Africa and Rome with his fame. Inſomuch that ſome belonging to the army, in their letters to their friends at Rome, told them *they would never ſee an end of that war till Marius was conſul, and had the chief command.* Metellus was very uneaſy at this, but he was moſt concerned at what befel Turpilius. The right of hoſpitality had long been eſtabliſhed betwixt this man's anceſtors, and the houſe of the Metelli; and he having attended the conſul in the war, was by him made overſeer of the workmen, and governor of Vacca, a large and conſiderable city; where truſting too much to the inhabitants, becauſe he treated them kindly, he unawares fell into the enemy's hands *, for they received Jugurtha into the city; nevertheleſs at their requeſt Turpilius was diſmiſſed ſafe, and without

* They put the Roman garriſon to the ſword, ſparing none but Turpilius.

receiving any injury; and for this reaſon he was accuſed of betraying it to the enemy. Marius, being one of the council of war, was not only violent againſt him himſelf, but alſo incenſed moſt of the others, ſo that Metellus was forced (much againſt his will) to put him to death. Not long after the accuſation appeared to be falſe *; and when others were comforting Metellus, who was deeply afflicted for the loſs of his friend, Marius rather inſulting and arrogating it to himſelf, boaſted in all companies, *that he had lodged a vengeful fury in Metellus's breaſt, which would be continually tormenting him for having put to death his intimate friend and hereditary gueſt.*

Henceforward they were at open variance; and it is reported, that Metellus ſaid one day to Marius in an inſulting manner, *Well, my good friend, you deſign then to leave us, and go home and ſtand for the conſulſhip; would not you be contented to ſtay, and be conſul with this boy of mine?* Now, Metellus's ſon was very young. Notwithſtanding this Marius perſiſted, and continued his ſolicitations for leave to be gone, whilſt Metellus ſtill put him off with new pretences. At laſt, when there were but twelve days before the election, he diſmiſſed him. Marius performed that long journey from the camp to Utica in two days and a night. At his arrival there he performed a ſacrifice before he embarked, and the prieſt aſſured him, *that heaven promiſed him ſome incredible good fortune, and ſuch as was beyond all expectation.* Marius, elated by this promiſe, began his voyage, and in four days with a favourable wind croſſed the ſea. He was extremely welcome to the people, and being brought into the aſſembly by one of the tribunes, he ſued for the conſulſhip, violently inveighing againſt Metellus, and promiſing either to kill Jugurtha, or take him alive.

* It did not appear a falſe accuſation, when Salluſt wrote his hiſtory.

He

He was elected with great applauſe; but preſently levied ſoldiers contrary both to law and cuſtom, enliſting ſeveral ſlaves and ſome of the pooreſt of the people *; whereas former commanders never accepted of ſuch, but beſtowed arms, like other honours, only on men of property, eſteeming the wealth of the ſoldier as a pledge for his good behaviour. But this was not the only ground of complaint againſt Marius; ſome haughty ſpeeches, uttered with great arrogance and contempt, highly offended the nobility; for he declared publicly, *that he took the conſulſhip as a prey from the effeminacy of the wealthy and noble citizens; and that he gloried in the wounds he received in the ſervice of his country, not in the monuments of the dead, and images of his anceſtors.* Often ſpeaking of thoſe commanders, Beſtia and Albinus, who were unfortunate in Africa, he ſaid, *that they were indeed men of very good families, but unfit for war, and had miſcarried through want of capacity*; then with a haughty air he aſked the people that were near him, *if they did not think that their anceſtors had much rather have left a poſterity like him, ſince they themſelves grew famous, not by nobility, but by their valour and great actions?* This he did not ſay merely out of vanity and arrogance, or becauſe he took a pleaſure in inſulting the nobility without any advantage to himſelf; but as the people are always delighted when any indignity is offered to the ſenate, and as they meaſure courage and greatneſs of mind by haughtineſs and inſolence of language, a deſire of gratifying them prompted him to throw contempt upon the greateſt men in the republic.

Upon his return into Africa, Metellus was unable to control his envy and reſentment, and deeply concerned that when he had in a manner finiſh-

* Florus ſays only, *quum pro obſcuritate generis ſui capite cenſos ſacramento adegiſſet.* The Romans called thoſe *capite cenſos*, who having no eſtates had their names only entered in the poll-book.

ed the war, (of which nothing remained to be done but ſecuring the perſon of Jugurtha), Marius, who was grown great merely through his ingratitude to him, ſhould bereave him both of his victory and triumph. Not being able therefore to ſtand the interview, he retired, whilſt Rutilius his lieutenant ſurrendered up the army to Marius. But before the end of this very war divine vengeance retaliated upon Marius his injuſtice to Metellus; for Sylla deprived him of the glory of the action, as he had wreſted it out of the hands of Metellus. I ſhall in a few words recount the manner of this tranſaction, having more particularly inſiſted upon it in the life of Sylla.

Bocchus King of Mauritania was Jugurtha's father-in-law. He had not afforded him any conſiderable aſſiſtance during the courſe of this war, partly, as he himſelf gave out, becauſe he knew him full of treachery and falſehood, and partly becauſe he was afraid of the increaſe of his power; but after Jugurtha had loſt all, and in diſtreſs came to him as to his laſt refuge, he received him more out of ſhame as a ſuppliant, than out of affection as his ſon-in-law; and when he had him in his power, he openly entreated Marius on his behalf, and in his letters ſtrongly declared that he would by no means deliver him up; yet privately deſigning to betray him, he ſent for Lucius Sylla, quæſtor to Marius, who had ſome time before befriended Bocchus in the army. When Sylla relying on his word came to him, the African began to repent of his purpoſe, and often changed his mind, being for ſeveral days unreſolved with himſelf, whether he ſhould deliver up Jugurtha, or retain Sylla; at length he fixed upon his former treachery, and put Jugurtha alive into Sylla's poſſeſſion.

This gave the firſt riſe to that cruel and implacable animoſity which almoſt ruined the Roman empire;

empire; for many who envied Marius, attributed the ſucceſs wholly to Sylla; and Sylla himſelf cauſed a ſeal to be made, whereon was repreſented Bocchus delivering Jugurtha into his hands, and with this he conſtantly ſealed all his letters. By theſe means he extremely provoked Marius, who was by nature very ambitious, and could never ſuffer any one to ſhare with him in the glory which he acquired. Sylla was inſtigated by the enemies of Marius, who aſcribed the beginning, and the moſt conſiderable actions of the war to Metellus, and the laſt exploits, and the honour of finiſhing it, to Sylla; that ſo the people might no longer admire and extol Marius above all the other commanders. But all this envy, detraction, and calumny vaniſhed in an inſtant, and was diſſipated, upon the report of the imminent danger wherewith Italy was menaced from the weſt. The people then had great need of a good commander, and were at a loſs whom to place at the helm to guide the commonwealth in ſo dreadful a ſtorm; and as no perſon of a noble and wealthy family ſtood for the conſulſhip, Marius, though abſent, was elected to that office. For an account of Jugurtha's defeat and captivity had hardly reached Rome, when news was brought of the invaſion of the Teutones and Cimbri. At firſt it exceeded all credit, as to the number and ſtrength of the approaching army; but at length that report proved much inferior to the truth, for they were three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a far greater number of women and children. Their pretence was the ſeeking new countries to ſuſtain their great multitudes, and cities where they might ſettle and inhabit; as they had heard that the Celtæ before them had expelled the Etrurians, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt part of Italy. Theſe having had no commerce with the ſouthern nations, and coming from countries far remote, no man knew what people

they were, or whence they came, who thus like a cloud hovered over Gaul and Italy; yet by their gray eyes, and the largeneſs of their ſtature, they were thought to be ſome of thoſe Germans that dwell by the northern ſea; beſides, the Germans in their language call robbers *Cimbri* *.

There are ſome who ſay that ſuch is the vaſt extent of the country of the Celtæ, that it reaches from the weſtern ocean and northern climes, to the lake Mæotis eaſtward, and to that part of Scythia which borders upon the Euxine ſea; that there the two nations mingle together; that they make regular draughts out of their country not all at once, nor continually, but at the ſpring-ſeaſon every year; that, by means of theſe annual ſupplies, they have gradually ſwarmed over the greateſt part of the European continent; and that though they are ſeparately diſtinguiſhed by different names according to the different clans of which they are compounded, yet their whole army is comprehended under the general name of *Celto-Scythæ*. Others ſay that they were originally a ſmall parcel of the Cimmerii, anciently well known to the Grecians; and that quitting their native ſoil, or being expelled from thence by the Scythians on account of ſome ſedition among them, they paſſed from the Palus Mæotis into Aſia, under the conduct of one Lygdamis, whom they had choſen for their leader; but the greater and more warlike part of them ſtill inhabited the remoteſt regions lying upon the northern ocean. Theſe, they ſay, live in a dark woody country, where the ſun is ſeldom ſeen, by reaſon of their many high and ſpreading trees, which

* Theſe people were ſo little known that they have given ground to a multitude of fables. Strabo in his ſeventh book approves Poſidonius's conjecture, who thought theſe Cimbri were a vagabond people, a parcel of banditti that roved up and down for plunder, and had by force of arms extended their ſettlements as far as the Palus Mæotis, and gave the name of *Cimbrian* to the Boſphorus, which name the Greeks changed into *Cimmerian*.

alſo reach inward as far as the Hercinian foreſt; they are under that part of the heavens where the pole is ſo elevated, that, by the declination of the parallels, the zenith of the inhabitants ſeems to be but little diſtant from it; and their days and nights are of ſuch a length that they ſerve to divide their year into two equal parts. This diſmal country gave occaſion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions *. From hence therefore theſe Barbarians began their march, when they came into Italy, being anciently called *Cimmerii*, and in proceſs of time *Cimbri*, by corruption of the word probably, and not from their cuſtoms or manners. But theſe things are built rather upon conjecture, than any authority from hiſtory. However, moſt hiſtorians agree, that the number of this rabble inſtead of being leſs, was greater than had been reported. They were of an invincible ſtrength and fierceneſs in battle, and came on with the ſame irreſiſtible violence as a devouring flame; nor could any withſtand their fury in their march, but all that came in their way were trodden down, or driven before them, like ſo many ſheep of whom they had made a prey. Many Roman armies, and many officers of great reputation, who had the care of the Tranſalpine Gaul committed to their charge, were defeated, or fled ignominiouſly before them. And indeed the faint reſiſtance theſe Barbarians met with in their firſt efforts, chiefly encouraged them to bend their march towards Rome. For having vanquiſhed all they ſet upon, and being well laden with plunder, they reſolved to ſettle themſelves no where till they ſhould have razed the city, and waſted all Italy.

* It is true that the dark country of the Cimmerii gave Homer the hint for his fable of the infernal regions, ſuch as they are repreſented by him in the eleventh book of his Odyſſey, but he does not place them in the country of the Scythian Cimmerians, but in Campania near the lake Avernus.

The

The Romans being from all parts alarmed with this news, immediately ſent for Marius to be their commander in that war, and nominated him the ſecond time conſul. Though the law did not permit any one that was abſent, or that had not ſtaid a certain time from his firſt conſulſhip, to be again created; yet the people rejected all his opponents; for they conſidered this was not the firſt time that the law had given place to the common intereſt, nor was the preſent occaſion leſs urgent than that, when contrary to law they made Scipio conſul, not from a fear of loſing their own city, but from a deſire of deſtroying Carthage. This conſideration prevailed, and Marius bringing over his legions out of Africa on the very firſt day of January, (which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year), received the conſulſhip, and then alſo entered in triumph, ſhowing Jugurtha a priſoner to the people; a ſight as agreeable to their wiſhes as it was beyond their expectation; for no one could hope to ſee an end of that war whilſt he lived; ſo various was the character of that man, ſo capable was he of accommodating himſelf to every turn of fortune, and ſo much was his valour mixed with ſubtilty and craft. It is ſaid, that when he was led in triumph, he fell diſtracted; and after the ceremony was over, he was thrown into priſon, where, whilſt they were all in haſte to ſtrip him, ſome of them tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled the tips of his ears off with them. After this, as they were caſting him naked and full of horror into a deep dungeon, he cried out, *O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours?* There ſtruggling for ſix days with extreme hunger, and to the very laſt minute ſeeming fond of life, he in the end received the juſt reward of his villanies. In this triumph was carried, (as is reported), of gold three thouſand and ſeven pound weight, of ſilver bullion five thouſand ſeven hunded and ſeventy-

five,

five, and of ſilver coin ſeventeen thouſand and twenty-eight drachmas. After the ſolemnity was over, Marius aſſembled the ſenate, where either through inadvertency, or an inſolent oſtentation, he entered in his triumphal robe; but as ſoon as he perceived the ſenate was offended at it, he withdrew, and putting on his ordinary habit, he returned immediately, and took his place.

When Marius ſet out with the army, he kept his ſoldiers in continual exerciſe, uſing them to labour and fatigue, to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his own victuals; ſo that afterwards ſuch as were very laborious, and performed their work ſilently and without murmuring, were called *Marius's mules*. But ſome give another reaſon for this proverb; and ſay, that when Scipio beſieged Numantia, he being careful to inſpect not only their horſes and arms, but their mules and carriages too, and ſee how well equipped, and in what readineſs every one was, Marius brought forth his horſe, which he had fed extremely well, and a mule in better caſe, and ſtronger and gentler than thoſe of others; the general being very much pleaſed with them, often mentioned Marius's beaſts; and hence thoſe who in a way of raillery praiſed a drudging laborious man, called him *Marius's mule*.

Fortune ſeems very much to have favoured Marius on this occaſion. For the courſe of the Barbarians changing like a ſudden ebb of the tide, they firſt invaded Spain, whereby he had time to exerciſe his ſoldiers, and confirm their courage, and, which was moſt conſiderable, to ſhow them what he himſelf was. For his fierce diſpoſition in authority, and his ſeverity in puniſhing, proved both juſt and advantageous to them, as by this means they were accuſtomed to a ready and exact obedience; and his paſſionate temper, ſtern voice, and harſh aſpect, which were in a little while grown familiar

miliar to them, they eſteemed terrible not to themſelves, but only to their enemies. But his uprightneſs in judging did more eſpecially pleaſe the ſoldiers. Of this the following inſtance is related. Caius Luſius, his own nephew, had a command under him in the army; he was a man in other reſpects of a good character, but much addicted to the unlawful love of young men; he particularly loved one that was under his command called *Trebonius*, with whom, notwithſtanding his many ſolicitations, he could never prevail; at length one night he ſent a meſſenger for him, and Trebonius, as he durſt not refuſe to comply with the commands of his ſuperior, obeyed the ſummons; and being brought into his tent, as Luſius endeavoured to force him, he drew his ſword and killed him. This was done whilſt Marius was abſent; who, when he returned, appointed Trebonius a time for his trial. There were many accuſers, but no one appeared in his defence; but Trebonius himſelf, with an undaunted courage, related the whole matter, and brought witneſſes to prove that he had often reſiſted Luſius's importunity; and that though he had offered him conſiderable preſents, he always rejected them. Marius being highly pleaſed, and full of admiration, commanded a crown to be brought, ſuch as the Romans beſtow on thoſe who have performed any worthy exploit, and put it himſelf on the head of Trebonius, as one who had performed a gallant action, at a time that very much wanted ſuch good examples.

This being told at Rome, proved no ſmall help to Marius in obtaining his third conſulſhip. Beſides, the Barbarians were expected in the ſpring, and the people were unwilling to truſt their fortunes in that exigency under the conduct of any other general but him. However, their arrival was not ſo ſudden as was imagined; ſo that Marius's third conſulſhip expired, without a fight of the

Barbarians.

Barbarians. The election coming on, and his colleague being dead, he left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and haſtened to Rome. Several eminent perſons being candidates for the conſulſhip, Lucius Saturninus (who had more authority with the people than any of the other tribunes, and whom Marius had gained to his intereſt) made an harangue to the people, adviſing them to chuſe Marius conſul; but he ſeeming to decline the office, and pretending not to be ambitious of it, Saturninus called him traitor to his country, for refuſing to take the command in ſuch an apparent danger. And though it was not difficult to diſcover that he had been employed by Marius to put this trick upon the people, yet they conſidering that the preſent juncture very much required his capacity, and his good fortune too, voted him the fourth time conſul, and made Catulus Lutatius his colleague, a man very much eſteemed by the nobility, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius having notice of the enemy's approach, with all expedition paſſed the Alps; and pitching his camp by the river Rhone, he took care firſt to furniſh himſelf with plentiful ſupplies of victuals, leſt at any time he ſhould be forced to fight at a diſadvantage for want of neceſſaries. But as the carriage of proviſions by ſea was long, hazardous, and expenſive, he found a means of rendering it more eaſy and expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choaked up with mud and ſand left there by the ebbing tides, ſo that ſhips could not paſs in without much difficulty and hazard. Hither therefore bringing his army, then at leiſure, he cauſed a deep and wide trench to be dug, capable of receiving ſhips of conſiderable burden; into this he turned a great part of the river, and drew it to a convenient place on the coaſt, where the opening to the ſea was ſmooth and ſecure. This trench retains his name to this day.

The

The enemy dividing themſelves into two bodies, the Cimbri were appointed to march the upper way through Noricum, and force the paſſes there, which were guarded by Catulus, whilſt the Teutones and Ambrones marched againſt Marius along the ſea-coaſt through Liguria. The Cimbri took up more time in their preparations, and delayed their march; but the Teutones and Ambrones were more expeditious, and having with long marches paſſed the Alps, and traverſed the whole country of Liguria, they ſoon came up with Marius, and preſented to his view an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aſpect, whoſe ordinary voice and warlike ſhouts differed from thoſe of all other men. Having encamped on the plain, where they ſpread themſelves over a vaſt extent of ground, they challenged the conſul to battle. Marius, nothing moved with their boaſts and menaces, reſtrained his ſoldiers within the trenches, and ſharply reprehended thoſe that were too forward and eager to engage, calling them *traitors to their country*, and telling them *that they were not come thither in purſuit of triumphs and trophies, but their buſineſs now was to diſſipate the dreadful ſtorm that was ready to burſt over them, and to ſave Italy from deſtruction.* This he repreſented in private to his chief officers and men of the firſt rank. As to the common ſoldiers, he placed them by turns upon the bulwarks to ſurvey the enemy, that they might be accuſtomed to bear their frightful ſhape and voice, and might be acquainted with their arms and their way of uſing them; ſo that in a little time what at firſt appeared terrible to their apprehenſions, by often viewing became familiar; for he juſtly thought that novelty impoſes very much upon the imagination, and adds fictitious circumſtances of terror to formidable objects, and that familiarity on the contrary leſſens our fear of thoſe things which are really moſt dreadful. Accordingly the fears of the

ſoldiers

ſoldiers were diminiſhing every day by thus continually ſurveying their enemies, and their indignation was rouſed, and their courage inflamed, when they heard the threats and inſupportable inſolence of the Barbarians, who not only plundered and depopulated all the country round, but alſo in a moſt impudent and contemptuous manner threatened to ſtorm their trenches.

This put the ſoldiers out of all patience: they complained loudly of it, and their complaints came to Marius's own ears. *What effiminacy* (ſaid they) *has Marius diſcovered in us, that he ſhould thus keep us locked up like ſo many women, and hinder us from encountering our enemies? Come on, let us ſhow ourſelves men, and aſk him if he expects any others that muſt fight in defence of Italy. Shall he always employ us in ſervile offices, when he would draw trenches, cleanſe places of mud and dirt, and turn the courſe of rivers? In ſuch works as theſe, it ſeems, he will exerciſe us, then return home, and boaſt to the people of theſe great exploits in his conſulſhips. Or does the defeat of Carbo and Cæpio, who were vanquiſhed by the enemy, affright him? Surely they were much inferior to Marius both in glory and valour, and commanded a much weaker army; at the worſt it is better to be in action, though we ſuffer for it like them, than to ſit idle ſpectators of the deſtruction of our allies.* Marius, not a little pleaſed to hear this, gently appeaſed them, by aſſuring them that he did not diſtruſt their valour, but that he was to follow the directions of an oracle, which pointed out to him the time and place which were to ſecure to him the victory. For he conſtantly carried up and down with him a Syrian woman called *Martha*, who paſſed for a propheteſs. He cauſed her to be borne in a litter, paid her all imaginable reſpect, and never ſacrificed to the gods but by her direction. She had formerly addreſſed herſelf to the ſenate, offering to communicate her predictions to them, but they refuſed to hear her. Upon this ſhe be-

took herſelf to the women, whom ſhe eaſily wrought into a belief of her great ſkill and inſight into futurity. It happened one day as ſhe was ſitting at the feet of Marius's wife in the amphitheatre, when there was a combat between two gladiators, ſhe luckily foretold to her which of the two ſhould conquer. Marius's wife immediately ſent her to her huſband, who was at that time at the head of the army; and he received her with the utmoſt veneration. After this ſhe was every day carried up and down the camp in her litter; and when ſhe went to ſacrifice, ſhe wore a purple robe lined and buttoned up, and had in her hand a ſpear trimmed with ribands and garlands. This management rendered it doubtful to many whether Marius really gave any credit to her himſelf, or only acted a part, and ſhowed her publicly to impoſe upon the ſoldiers.

But what Alexander Mindus relates about the vultures, really deſerves admiration. He ſays, that always before Marius's victories there appeared two of them, and accompanied the army. They were known by their brazen collars; for the ſoldiers, when they took them, put them about their necks, and then let them go, ſo that they in a manner knew and ſaluted the ſoldiers; and whenever theſe appeared in their march, they very much rejoiced, as at an omen of good ſucceſs in that expedition. About this time there happened many ſigns and prodigies, moſt of them of the ordinary kind; but it was reported, that at Ameria and Tudurtum, two cities in Italy, there were ſeen, one night in the ſky, flaming darts and ſhields, now waving about, and then claſhing againſt one another, in imitation of thoſe poſtures and motions which ſoldiers uſe in fighting; and that at length one party retreating, and the other purſuing, they all diſappeared in the weſt. Much about the ſame time arrived from Peſſinus, Batibaces, the chief prieſt of Cybele, who affirmed

affirmed that the goddeſs had declared to him, *that the Romans ſhould obtain the victory, and all the glorious advantages ariſing from it.* The ſenate giving credit to this report, decreed a temple to be built to the goddeſs on account of the victory. But when Batibaces was going to communicate the ſame thing to the people, Aulus Pompeius a tribune prevented him, calling him impoſtor, and ignominiouſly pulling him out of the Roſtrum: but this very action gave more credit to the prediction; for Aulus had ſcarce diſſolved the aſſembly, and returned home, when a violent fever ſeized him, of which he died within a week after. This was univerſally known.

Whilſt Marius lay quiet, without attempting any thing upon the Barbarians, they ventured to attack his camp; from whence being encountered with ſhowers of darts, and loſing ſeveral of their men, they determined to march forward, hoping to paſs the Alps without oppoſition; wherefore packing up their baggage, they marched by the camp of the Romans, to whom the greatneſs of their numbers appeared in a clearer light than it had done before, from the time they took up in their march; for it is ſaid that though they moved on without intermiſſion, they were ſix days in paſſing by Marius's camp. They came ſo near the Romans, that ſome of them as they marched along called out, and in an inſulting manner aſked them, *if they had any meſſages to their wives, for they ſhould be ſhortly with them?*

As ſoon as the Barbarians had all paſſed by, and were in full march, Marius decamped, following them leiſurely, conſtantly halting when they did, at ſome ſmall diſtance behind them, and chuſing always convenient places for his camp, which he ſtrongly fortified, that he might paſs the nights in ſafety. Thus they marched till they came to Aquæ-Sextiæ, whence the Alps were but little di-

ſtant; and then Marius put himſelf in readineſs for the encounter.

He choſe a place for his camp of conſiderable ſtrength, but where there was ſcarcity of water; deſigning, as was reported, by this means to ſharpen the courage of his ſoldiers. For when ſeveral of them ſeemed diſſatisfied at his chuſing that ground where they were in danger of periſhing for want of water; he pointing with his hand to a river which ran near the enemy's camp, ſaid to them, *There you may have water, but you muſt purchaſe it at the expenſe of your blood. And why then,* replied they, *do you not lead us thither, whilſt we have any blood left in our veins?* To which he anſwered them in a ſofter tone, *I will lead you thither, but firſt let us fortify our camp.* Though this did not hinder the ſoldiers from murmuring, yet they all obeyed. But the ſervants belonging to the army being in great want of water, both for themſelves and their cattle, ran in great crouds towards the river, ſome with hatchets, ſome with axes, others with ſwords and javelins, and all with pitchers in their hands, being reſolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. Theſe were at firſt encountered only by a ſmall party of the enemy; for it was then about dinner-time, when ſome having bathed were ſitting at table, and others were ſtill bathing; the country in thoſe parts abounding with hot ſprings. This gave the Romans an opportunity of ſurpriſing a great many of them, who being much taken with the delightfulneſs of thoſe baths, thought of nothing but regaling themſelves, and indulging their appetites. But the exclamations of thoſe who were firſt attacked having given the alarm, and drawn others who were neareſt them to their aſſiſtance, Marius could no longer reſtrain the impatience of the ſoldiers, who were in pain for their ſervants. Beſides, the Ambrones who were above thirty thouſand in number, and who were the beſt of the enemies troops,

troops, and who had already defeated Manlius and Cæpio, were drawn out, and ſtood to their arms. As to theſe, though their bodies were overcharged with eating, yet their minds were rendered daring and cheerful by the wine they had drank; ſo that they advanced, not in a wild and diſorderly manner, or rending the air with a confuſed noiſe, and inarticulate yellings, but ſtriking on their armour by regular intervals, and moving all together as to a tune or meaſure, continually repeating their own name, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* either the better to encourage one another, or to ſtrike the greater terror into their enemies. Of all the Italians in Marius's army, the Ligurians were the firſt that charged; and when they underſtood that the enemies ſhouted the word *Ambrones*, they alſo echoed back the ſame word, which was their own ancient name. This acclamation being thus returned from one army to the other before they joined, and the officers on either ſide encouraging them, they ſtrove with all poſſible vehemence to exceed each other in the loudneſs of their ſhouts; and this was a great incentive to their courage.

The Ambrones having the river to paſs, this broke their order; ſo that before they could form again on the other ſide, the Ligurians attacked the van, and began the charge. At the ſame time the Romans haſtened up to ſupport the Ligurians; and pouring down upon the enemy from the higher ground, they preſſed them ſo hard, that they were ſoon put into diſorder. A great number of them were ſlain upon the bank of the river, where they fell foul upon one another, and the river itſelf was filled with the blood and dead bodies of the Barbarians. Thoſe who were got ſafe over not daring to make head, the Romans ſlew them as they fled to their camp and carriages *; where the women meeting

* The Ambrones had paſſed the river when they were defeated by the

meeting them with ſwords and axes, and making an hideous outcry, fell upon thoſe that fled as well as thoſe that purſued, the former as traitors, the others as enemies, and mixing themſelves with the ſoldiers, with their bare arms they pulled away the ſhields of the Romans, and laid hold on their ſwords, enduring the wounding and ſlaſhing of their bodies to the very laſt, with undaunted reſolution. Thus the battle is ſaid to have happened upon the banks of that river rather by accident than by any deſign of the general.

The Romans, after having thus put to the ſword the greateſt part of the Ambrones, retired as it began to grow dark; but the camp did not reſound with ſongs of victory, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions; there were no rejoicings, no mutual entertainments in their tents. Sleep itſelf, that moſt welcome refreſhment after the toils of a ſucceſsful battle, was that night a ſtranger to the Romans, who paſſed their time in the greateſt trouble and perplexity. Their camp was unfortified; and there ſtill remained many myriads of the Barbarians yet unconquered. Thoſe of the Ambrones who had eſcaped from the late defeat being mingled with them, filled the air with hideous outcries, not like the ſighs and groans of men, but like the howlings and bellowings of wild beaſts, attended with threats and lamentations, which proceeding from ſuch an innumerable hoſt, reſounded through the neighbouring mountains, and the hollow banks of the adjacent river. While this horrid din echoed through the whole plain, the hearts of the Romans were ſeized with terror, and Marius himſelf was ſtruck with amazement at the apprehenſions of a

the Romans; ſo that they had no camp on that ſide. We muſt therefore underſtand by this paſſage the camp of the Teutones; for that they were encamped on the ſame ſide of the river with the Romans, ſeems probable from the account Plutarch gives of the engagement with them two days after.

tumultuous

tumultuous night-engagement. However the Barbarians made no motions either that night, or the day following, but ſpent that time in conſulting how to diſpoſe and draw themſelves up to the beſt advantage.

In the mean time Marius, well knowing that there hung over the enemy's camp ſome cliffs, and hollows covered with wood, detached Claudius Marcellus with three thouſand men to lie there in ambuſcade, and fall on the enemy's rear when the fight was begun. He ordered the remainder of his troops to ſup early, and take their reſt. The next morning, as ſoon as it was day, he drew up before the camp, and commanded the horſe to march into the plain; which the Teutones perceiving, could not contain themſelves, nor ſtay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might encounter them upon equal terms; but arming themſelves in haſte, and in great anger, they inconſiderately ran and attacked them upon that riſing ground. Marius diſpatched his officers with proper orders to all parts, commanding his men to ſtand ſtill, and wait for the enemy, and as ſoon as they were advanced within reach, to throw their darts, and then joining their ſhields, to attack them with ſword in hand; for he knew that the ſteepneſs of the ground would render the enemy's footing unſteady, and abate the force of their blows; nor could their ſhields be joined cloſe together, where the declivity of the place would be continually forcing their bodies upon an unequal poiſe.

This counſel he gave them, and was himſelf obſerved to be the firſt that followed it; for he was inferior to none in the agility of his body, and far excelled them all in reſolution. Wherefore the Romans vigorouſly oppoſed them, and ſtopping them ſhort as they were aſcending the hill, preſſed hard upon them, and forced them back into the plain, where the foremoſt battalions began to rally and

and form again, but the rear was in the utmoſt confuſion. For Marcellus was upon the watch, and as ſoon as he was aſſured from the noiſe and clamour which reached the hills where he lay concealed, that the fight was begun, he marched forward with his troops, and falling impetuouſly and with loud ſhouts upon the enemy in the rear, he killed many of them. The Romans preſſed them with ſuch vigour that they puſhed them upon thoſe that were in the front, ſo that the whole army was ſoon put into diſorder; and the Barbarians being aſſaulted both in front and rear, and unable to make head againſt both attacks at once, were broken, and put to flight.

The Romans purſuing them *, ſlew and took priſoners above a hundred thouſand, and poſſeſſing themſelves of their tents, baggage, and carriages, voted as many of them as were not plundered as a preſent to Marius. This indeed was a magnificent recompenſe; but it was thought to be far ſhort of the important ſervice he had done his country in that imminent danger. But ſome authors give a different account of the diſpoſition of the ſpoils, and number of the ſlain. It is ſaid that after this battle the Maſſilians made incloſures for their vineyards with the bones of thoſe who fell in it, and that the ſoil, being enriched by the moiſture of the putrefied bodies, (which was ſoaked in with the rain of the following winter), yielded the next ſeaſon a prodigious crop; which juſtifies Archilochus when he ſpeaks of *fields being fattened with blood*. It is a common obſervation, that extraordinary rains uſually fall after great battles; whether it be, that ſome deity waſhes and cleanſes the polluted earth with ſhowers from above, or that blood and corruption emitting a moiſt and groſs vapour thicken the air,

* This victory was obtained in Marius's fourth conſulſhip, the ſecond year of the 169th Olympiad, and a hundred years before the birth of our Saviour.

which

which by reaſon of its tenuity is ſubject to great alterations even from the ſmalleſt cauſes.

After the battle, Marius choſe out from amongſt the barbarian ſpoils and arms, ſuch as were moſt rich and moſt entire, and would make the greateſt ſhow in his triumph; the reſt he heaped upon a large pile, and offered them as a ſplendid ſacrifice to the gods. The army ſtood round about the pile crowned with laurel; and himſelf arrayed in his purple robe, and girt after the faſhion of the Romans, taking a lighted torch, and with both hands lifting it up towards heaven, was going to put it to the pile, when ſome of his friends were eſpied coming in all haſte towards him on horſeback; whereupon every one remained in great ſilence and expectation: when they came near, they alighting, ſaluted Marius, told him the news of his fifth conſulſhip, and delivered him letters to the ſame purpoſe. This added no ſmall joy to the ſolemnity, which the army expreſſed by martial ſhouts and acclamations; and whilſt the officers were placing new crowns on the head of Marius, he ſet fire to the pile, and finiſhed his ſacrifice.

But whatever it be which permits us not the enjoyment of proſperity pure and ſincere, but ſtill diverſifies human life with a mixture of good and bad, whether it be fortune, or ſome malevolent and avenging deity, or the unalterable nature of things, within a few days after this joyful ſolemnity, Marius received news of an event, which raiſed a cloud in the midſt of this calm and ſerenity, and threatened Rome with another dreadful tempeſt. For Catulus who had been ſent to oppoſe the Cimbri in their march, and defend the paſſes on the tops of the Alps, thinking it impoſſible to do it without making ſo many detachments as would neceſſarily weaken his forces, marched back into Italy, and poſted his army behind the river Atheſis; where blocking up the fords with ſtrong fortifications on both

both ſides, he made a bridge over it, that ſo he might be in a condition to ſuccour the garriſons on the other ſide, if the enemy, having forced the narrow paſſages of the mountains, ſhould attempt to ſtorm them. The Barbarians came on with ſuch inſolence and contempt of their enemies, that to ſhow their ſtrength and courage, rather than out of any neceſſity, they expoſed themſelves quite naked to ſhowers of ſnow, climbed up to the tops of the mountains through heaps of ice and ſnow, and from thence, placing their broad ſhields under their bodies, they ſlid from the precipices along the vaſt ſlippery deſcents.

When they had pitched their camp at a little diſtance from the river, and ſurveyed the paſſage, they determined to fill it up, and like the giants of old, tore up the neighbouring hills; they brought trees pulled up by the roots, and heaps of earth and maſſy rocks to the river, therewith damming up its courſe; and with bulky and heavy materials which rolling down the ſtream, daſhed againſt the bridge, they forced away the timbers which ſupported it. Upon this the greateſt part of the Roman ſoldiers, being very much affrighted, left their camp and fled. Here Catulus ſhowed himſelf a truly excellent commander, in preferring the glory of his country to his own private honour and reputation. For when he found he could not prevail with his ſoldiers to ſtand to their colours, but ſaw in how cowardly a manner they all deſerted them, he commanded his own ſtandard to be taken up, and running to the foremoſt of thoſe that fled, led them forward, chuſing rather that the diſgrace ſhould fall upon himſelf than his country, and that they ſhould not ſeem to fly, but follow their leader. The Barbarians aſſaulted and took the fortreſs on the other ſide of the Atheſis; where admiring the courage of the few Romans who were left there, and had fought bravely in defence of their country, they diſmiſſed them

on

on certain conditions, ſwearing them upon their brazen bulls *, which was afterwards taken in the battle, and, as they ſay, carried to Catulus's houſe, as the chief trophy of the victory.

Thus falling upon the country deſtitute of defence, they laid all waſte; whereupon Marius was preſently ſent for to the city. When he arrived there, every one ſuppoſed he would triumph, and the ſenate too unanimouſly voted it, but he himſelf refuſed it; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his officers and ſoldiers of their ſhare in the honour, or that to encourage the people in this juncture, he choſe to intruſt the glory of his former exploits with the fortune of the city, deferring his triumph now that he might enjoy it afterwards with the greater ſplendour. Having made an harangue to the people ſuitable to the occaſion, he haſtened to Catulus, whoſe drooping ſpirits he very much raiſed. He then ſent for his army out of Gaul, and as ſoon as it had joined him he paſſed the Po, with a deſign to keep the Barbarians out of that part of Italy which lies to the ſouth of that river. But they pretending they were in expectation of the Teutones, and wondering they were ſo long in coming, deferred the battle; either being really ignorant of their defeat, or at leaſt being willing to ſeem ſo; for they very ſeverely puniſhed thoſe that brought them that news, and ſent to Marius, to require ſome part of the country for them and their brethren, and cities fit for them to inhabit. When Marius inquired of the ambaſſadors who their brethren were, and they anſwered, that they were the Teutones, the wholly aſſembly fell a-laughing, and Marius ſcoffingly replied, *Do not trouble yourſelves for your brethren, for we have already provided lands for them, which they ſhall poſſeſs for ever.*

* I have no where met with any account of this brazen bull uſed by the Cimbri in the adminiſtration of an oath; though Plutarch ſpeaks of it here as a thing common, and well known.

The

The ambaſſadors perceiving the irony, railed at him, and threatened that the Cimbri would ſoon make him ſmart for it, and the Teutones too when they came. *And they are not far off*, replied Marius, *it will be very unkind of you to go away before you have ſaluted and embraced your brethren.* At the ſame time he commanded the kings of the Teutones to be brought in loaden with irons; for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to eſcape over the Alps.

As ſoon as the ambaſſadors were returned, and had made their report to the Cimbri, they marched immediately againſt Marius, who lay ſtill, and remained within his trenches. It is ſaid that on this occaſion he contrived a new faſhion for their javelins; for till then they uſed to faſten the ſhaft to the iron with two iron pins; but Marius now letting one of them remain as it was, pulled out the other, and put a weak wooden peg in its place, contriving it ſo, that when it was ſtuck in the enemy's ſhield, it ſhould not ſtand right out, but, the wooden peg breaking, ſhould turn round the iron pin; ſo that while the point ſtuck faſt in the ſhield, the other end ſhould hang down. Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came with a ſmall party of horſe to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they might meet, and determine to whom the country ſhould belong. Marius anſwered, *That the Romans never conſulted their enemies when to fight; however he would gratify the Cimbri ſo far.* Accordingly they pitched upon the third day after; and the place appointed was the plain near Vercellæ, which was both convenient for the Roman horſe, and afforded room for the enemy to diſplay their numbers.

They both obſerved the time appointed, and drew out their forces. Catulus had under his command twenty thouſand three hundred men, and Marius thirty-two thouſand, who were placed in the

the two wings, leaving Catulus in the centre. Sylla *, who was preſent at the fight, gives this account, and ſays that Marius drew up his army in this order, out of malice to Catulus; for it being uſual, when the front of an army is of great extent, for the wings to advance before the main body, Marius hoped to fall upon the enemy and rout them with his part of the army, and thereby ſecure to himſelf and his ſoldiers the honour of the victory, before Catulus could have time to come up to the charge with thoſe under his command. Catulus himſelf alleged this in vindication of his honour, and complained loudly of Marius for this artful and ungenerous behaviour. The infantry of the Cimbri marched quietly out of their trenches, having their flanks equal to their front; inſomuch that their form of battle was ſquare, every ſide taking up thirty furlongs. Their horſe were fifteen thouſand in number, and made a very ſplendid appearance. They wore helmets formed like the jaws and muzzles of all ſorts of wild beaſts; on theſe were fixed plumes ſhaped like wings of a prodigious height, which made them ſeem ſtill larger than they were. Their breaſt-plates were of iron, and their ſhields were bright and glitttering. For their offenſive arms, every one had two-edged darts, and when they came hand to hand, they uſed great and heavy ſwords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right, they endeavoured to incloſe them by little and little, and get the enemy between them and their infantry, who were placed in the left. The Roman commanders ſoon perceived the deſign; but could not contain the ſoldiers; for one of them happening to cry out, that the enemy

* Sylla wrote ſeveral books, or commentaries of his own action; for we find citations out of the twenty-firſt. The work was imperfect, for he died before he had finiſhed it. Plutarch makes mention of it in the life of Sylla, and in that of Lucullus.

fled, they all haſtened to purſue them; while the Barbarian foot came on moving like a vaſt ocean. Here Marius, having waſhed his hands, lifted them up towards heaven, and vowed an hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus too in the ſame poſture ſolemnly promiſed to conſecrate a temple to the fortune of that day *. They ſay that Marius no ſooner ſaw the victim which they ſhowed to him, as he was ſacrificing, but he cried out with a loud voice, *The victory is mine.*

However, when the battle was joined, an accident happened, which, as Sylla writes, ſeemed an inſtance of the divine vengeance upon Marius; for a great duſt being raiſed, which (as it might very probably happen) almoſt covered both the armies, he moving with his troops firſt to the charge, had the misfortune to miſs the enemy in that general obſcurity, and having paſſed by their army, wandered up and down in the plain without knowing where he was. In the mean time it was the good fortune of Catulus that the enemy fell upon him, ſo that he only and the ſoldiers under his command, among whom was Sylla, bore the chief brunt of the battle. The heat of the weather, and the ſun which ſhined full upon the Cimbri, proved of great advantage to the Romans. For the Cimbri, who were capable of enduring the ſevereſt cold, having been bred in frozen climates, and ſhady countries, were not able to ſupport the exceſſive heat; their bodies run down with ſweat, they panted for want of breath, and were obliged to hold their ſhields up before their faces, to ſcreen them from the ſun; for this battle was fought not long after the ſummer-ſolſtice; or, as the Romans reckon, about the third of the calends of Auguſt, then called *Sextilis.* At the ſame time the duſt proved as ſervice-

* This temple was accordingly dedicated to fortune under this title, *Fortunæ hujus diei.*

able

able to the Romans as the ſun, giving no ſmall addition to their courage, as it hid the enemy, ſo that they could not afar off diſcover their number; but every one advancing to encounter thoſe that were neareſt, they were come to cloſe engagement before the ſight of ſo vaſt a multitude had ſtruck terror into them.

The Romans were ſo much uſed to labour, and ſo well exerciſed, that, in all the heat and toil of the encounter, not one of them was obſerved either to ſweat, or to be out of breath; and this, they ſay, was recorded by Catulus * himſelf, in commendation of his ſoldiers. The greateſt part and the moſt valiant of the enemies were cut in pieces; for thoſe who fought in the front, were faſt tied to one another with long cords put through their belts, to hinder them from breaking their ranks, or falling into diſorder. The Romans purſued thoſe that fled into their camp, where they ſaw a moſt horrid tragedy; the women ſtanding in mourning by their carriages, ſlew all that fled; ſome their huſbands, ſome their brethren, others their fathers; and ſtrangling their little children with their own hands, they threw them under the wheels, and horſes feet, and laſt of all killed themſelves. They tell us of one that was hanging on the very top of a waggon, with her children tied at her heels. The men, for want of trees, tied themſelves by the neck, ſome to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, that ſo pricking them on, by the ſtarting and ſpringing of the beaſts they might be torn and trodden to pieces. Yet though they

* Catulus wrote a hiſtory of his conſulate, and of all his own actions. Cicero commends it in his Brutus, where he ſays that he imitated Xenophon's ſtyle, and dedicated it to a particular friend, the poet Furius. To our great misfortune this book is loſt. Catulus was likewiſe a very elegant poet, and two of his epigrams, which ſtill remain, ſhow the agreeable turn of his wit, and at the ſame time the depravity of his manners.

thus maſſacred themſelves, above ſixty thouſand were taken priſoners, and thoſe that were ſlain were ſaid to be twice as many.

The ordinary plunder Marius's ſoldiers forcibly took away; but the other ſpoils, as enſigns, trumpets, and the like, they ſay, were brought to Catulus's camp, which he uſed as an argument that the victory was obtained by himſelf and his army. Hereupon a hot diſpute aroſe betwixt his troops and thoſe of Marius; and the ambaſſadors from Parma, who happened to be then preſent, were choſen arbitrators of the controverſy. Catulus's ſoldiers led them into the field of battle, ſhowed them the dead, and manifeſtly proved that they were ſlain by their javelins, which were known by the inſcriptions, having Catulus's name cut in the wood. Nevertheleſs the whole glory of the action was aſcribed to Marius, by reaſon of his former victory, and his preſent authority. The populace more eſpecially ſtyled him the *third founder of their city*, as having diverted a danger no leſs threatening than that which Rome had formerly experienced from the Gauls. Every one rejoiced at home with his wife and children, ſacrificed to the gods and to Marius, and would have given him alone the honour of both the triumphs. This he would not conſent to, but triumphed together with Catulus, being deſirous to ſhow his moderation even in the height of good fortune; beſides, he was not a little afraid of the ſoldiers in Catulus's army, leſt if he ſhould wholly bereave their general of the honour, they ſhould endeavour to hinder him of his triumph.

Thus did he paſs through his fifth conſulſhip, and courted the ſixth with more heat and earneſtneſs, than any man before him had ever ſhown for the firſt; he took the people by the hand, and ingratiated himſelf with the multitude by ſuch ſervile condeſcenſions, as were not only below his dignity,

but

but even contrary to his natural temper and inclination. It is ſaid of him, that his ambition had made him exceedingly timorous in civil affairs, and in the tumultuous proceedings of popular aſſemblies; and that undaunted preſence of mind which he always ſhowed in battle againſt the enemy, forſook him when he was to harangue the people; for the leaſt breath of applauſe or diſlike from them put him into a violent agitation. However, it is reported of him, that having enfranchiſed at once no leſs than a thouſand men of the city of Camerium, who had behaved themſelves well in the wars, when this was repreſented to him as a thing contrary to law, he replied, *that the law ſpake too ſoftly to be heard amidſt the noiſe of arms.* However, he himſelf appeared to be more concerned and aſtoniſhed at that noiſe which was made by the aſſemblies. The need they had of him in time of war procured him always the higheſt military rank; but in civil affairs, when he deſpaired of getting the firſt place, he ſcrupled not to uſe the loweſt arts to ingratiate himſelf with the multitude; for, provided he were great, he was little ſolicitous to be good.

By this behaviour he ſet all the nobility againſt him; but he dreaded none of them ſo much as Metellus, who had been ſo ungratefully uſed by him, and who, being truly virtuous, was naturally an enemy to thoſe who by flattery and corruption practiſed upon the people. This made Marius very deſirous to get him out of the way; for which purpoſe he contracted a familiar acquaintance with Glaucias and Saturninus, a couple of daring reſolute fellows, who had all the indigent and ſeditious part of the people conſtantly at their diſpoſal. By the aſſiſtance of theſe men he got ſeveral laws enacted, and planting many of his ſoldiers up and down in the aſſembles, he raiſed a powerful faction

againſt Metellus. Rutilius*, in all other reſpects a faithful and authentic hiſtorian, but indeed privately an enemy to Marius, tells us that he obtained his ſixth conſulſhip by diſtributing vaſt ſums of money among the tribes, that he bought their votes to put by Metellus, and to elect Valerius Flaccus, his inſtrument rather than his colleague in the conſulſhip. The people had never before beſtowed ſo many conſulſhips on any one man, except on Valerius Corvinus † only; and they ſay too that there were forty-five years between his firſt and laſt conſulſhip; but Marius after his firſt was carried through five more without intermiſſion by one tide of his good fortune.

In the laſt conſulſhip he contracted a great deal of hatred, by openly abetting Saturninus in all his actions, particularly in the murder of Nonius, whom Saturninus ſlew becauſe he ſtood in competition with him for the tribuneſhip. After this, when Saturninus was declared tribune of the people, he propoſed an agrarian law, in which there was a clauſe expreſsly providing, *that the ſenate ſhould come and ſwear in full aſſembly to confirm whatever ſhould be enacted by the people, and not oppoſe them in any thing.* Marius pretended to be much offended at this article in the ſenate, declaring openly, *that he was determined never to take ſuch an oath, and he believ'd every man that was wiſe would be of his opinion; for if the law was not bad in itſelf, it would be an affront to the ſenate to compel them to ſwear to a thing, which they ought rather to do voluntarily, and of choice.* This

* He means P. Rutilius Rufus, who had been conſul the year before the ſecond conſulſhip of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman hiſtory in Greek. He was a perſon of approved virtue and probity. Cicero commends him on ſeveral occaſions. He was driven into exile ſix or ſeven years after this ſixth conſulſhip of Marius. Sylla would have recalled him, but he refuſed to return.

† This Valerius Corvinus obtained his firſt conſulſhip when he was twenty-three years of age, the four hundred and ſixth year of Rome; and he was declared for the ſixth time conſul, the four hundred and fifty-ſecond year of Rome.

he

he ſaid, not that it was agreeable to his own ſentiments, but that he might thereby entangle Metellus in an unavoidable ſnare. For as he reckoned that virtue and prudence very much conſiſted in deceit, he made very little account of what he had openly profeſſed to the ſenate; on the other hand, knowing Metellus to be a perſon of a fixed reſolution, and (as Pindar expreſſes it) one that eſteemed *truth the ſpring of heroic virtue*, he hoped that his own refuſing to take the oath, would draw him into a refuſal likewiſe; which would infallibly expoſe him to the implacable hatred of the people. The event anſwered his expectation; for as ſoon as Metellus had declared that he would not ſwear to it, the ſenate adjourned. A few days after, Saturninus ſummoned the ſenate to appear in the Forum, and take the oath; and Marius made his appearance among the reſt. As ſoon as he appeared, there was a profound ſilence, and the eyes of all were fixed upon him; when he bidding farewell to thoſe fine ſpeeches he had before made in the ſenate, declared freely, *that he was not ſo ſtiff-necked, as to be tied down to any declaration he might have made upon an affair of ſo much weight before he had thoroughly conſidered it, but was ready to ſwear, and having ſworn, would punctually obſerve the law, when once it became a law.* The laſt words he artfully added, to put a plauſible colour upon his impudence, and immediately took the oath. The people were extremely pleaſed at this, and highly applauded him; but the nobility were very much aſhamed, and in their hearts deteſted ſuch double-dealing. However, they were over-awed by the people, and ſwore in their order, till it came to Metellus. But he, though his friends entreated him to take the oath, and not to plunge himſelf irrecoverably into thoſe penalties which Saturninus had provided for them that refuſed, would not ſhrink from his reſolution; he ſtill maintained his former character, and being ready

to

to ſuffer any thing rather that do an unworthy action, he left the Forum, telling them that were with him, *That to do ill was ſhameful; to do well where it might be done with ſafety, was common; but to do well even in the face of danger, was peculiar to a good man.*

Immediately upon his refuſal Saturninus put it to the vote, that the conſuls ſhould declare Metellus baniſhed, and that none ſhould entertain him: nor were there wanting among the dregs of the people ſome who were ready to kill him. But all of the better ſort were concerned for him, and gathered about him to defend him. But he would by no means ſuffer them to raiſe a ſedition on his account, but left the city with this wiſe reflection. *Either the face of affairs will change for the better, and the people repent, in which caſe I ſhall be recalled, and reſtored with honour; or they will remain in the preſent poſture, and then it will be beſt to be abſent.* The affection and reſpect which was paid to Metellus in his baniſhment, and the manner in which he ſpent his time at Rhodes in the ſtudy of philoſophy, will be more properly deſcribed in his life.

Marius found himſelf ſo highly obliged to Saturninus for this laſt piece of ſervice, that he was forced to connive at him, and ſuffer him to commit what acts of violence and injuſtice he pleaſed, with impunity; ſo that he ſtopped at no outrages, or maſſacres; and all his actions tended to tyranny, and a total ſubverſion of the government. All this while Marius acted a double part; he was willing to keep fair with the nobility, and at the ſame time to pleaſe the people. This put him upon an action that was diſingenuous in the higheſt degree. One night, when ſome of the chief nobility came to him, and preſſed him to declare againſt Saturninus, Saturninus came to his houſe at the ſame time, and was let in at a back door unknown to the ſenators. Then pretending an indiſpoſition of nature,

ture, under that pretence he ran from one party to the other, and ſtaying ſometimes with them, and ſometimes with him, he inſtigated and exaſperated both. At length the ſenate and equeſtrian order uniting together, and teſtifying their reſentments, he found himſelf obliged to ſend a party of ſoldiers to the Forum to ſuppreſs the ſedition, which he ſecretly favoured, but could protect no longer. Saturninus, and Glaucias, and the reſt of their crew fled to the capitol, where they were beſieged, and at length forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. Wherefore, when they could hold out no longer, they ſurrendered themſelves to Marius, who promiſed them ſecurity in the name of the public. He practiſed every art to ſave them, but to no purpoſe; for they no ſooner came down to the Forum, but they were all murdered. Marius being now equally odious both to the nobility and commons, when the time came for the election of cenſors, contrary to the expectation of all, declined ſuing for that office, and permitted others his inferiors to be elected, being afraid of a repulſe. He indeed pretended a leſs diſgraceful cauſe, and ſaid, that he was not willing to diſoblige too many, by a ſevere inſpection into their lives and manners.

There was now an edict propoſed, to recall Metellus from baniſhment; this he vigorouſly oppoſed, both in his diſcourſe and actions; but ſeeing it was to no purpoſe, he at length deſiſted; and the people very eagerly paſſed the decree. But not being able to endure the ſight of Metellus, he made a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, giving it out that he went to perform ſome ſacrifices which he had vowed to Cybele. This indeed was his pretext; but there was another reaſon for this voyage, which was not known to the people. Being by nature unapt for peace, and for the management of civil affairs, deriving all his grandeur and advancement from war, and foreſeeing that a ſtate of in-

action

action would ſully all his glory, and diminiſh his authority, he ſtudied how to raiſe new commotions; for he hoped by ſtirring up the kings againſt the Romans, particularly by exaſperating Mithridates, who ſeemed the moſt diſpoſed to quarrel, he himſelf ſhould be choſen general in the war, and by that means furniſh the city with new matter of triumph, and enrich his own houſe with the plunder of Pontus, and the ſpoils of its king. Wherefore, though Mithridates had received and entertained him with all imaginable civility and reſpect, yet he was not at all ſoftened by it; but ſaid to him, *Either endeavour, O king, to be indeed more potent than the Romans, or elſe quietly ſubmit to their commands.* At this Mithridates was aſtoniſhed. He had indeed often been told of the liberty of the Romans in their ſpeech, but that was the firſt time he had ever heard it.

When Marius returned to Rome, he built an houſe cloſe by the Forum, either (as he himſelf gave out) becauſe he was willing to eaſe his clients of the t[illegible]able of going far, or becauſe he imagined that the remoteneſs of his habitation was the cauſe that there was not ſo great a concourſe of people at his gates as at thoſe of others; but in this he was miſtaken: the true reaſon was, becauſe being inferior to others in the art of converſation, and in an engaging addreſs, he like a mere tool and implement of war was thrown aſide in time of peace. He was in no inſtance ſo much concerned to ſee his glory and reputation eclipſed by that of others, as when he obſerved that Sylla aggrandiſed himſelf at his expenſe, increaſed his popularity by the hatred which the nobility bore him, and made his diſagreement with him the firſt ſtep to his preferment. Bocchus king of Numidia, after he had been declared an ally to the Romans, dedicated in the capitol ſome figures of victory adorned with trophies, and placed near them twenty golden ſtatues, repreſenting

ſenting the hiſtory of Jugurtha, and how he was delivered by him into the hands of Sylla. This almoſt diſtracted Marius with rage and ambition, as if Sylla had hereby robbed him of the glory of his exploits. He therefore reſolved to pull down theſe monuments by force, and Sylla as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him.

When this ſedition was juſt upon the point of breaking out, the *war of the allies* * intervened, and put a ſtop to it. Now the moſt warlike and beſt peopled countries of all Italy conſpired together againſt Rome, and were within a little of ſubverting the empire: their ſtrength conſiſted not only in their weapons and the valour of their ſoldiers, but they equalled the Romans, even in the courage and ſkill of their commanders.

This war, ſo remarkable for various turns of fortune, greatly increaſed the power and reputation of Sylla, and in the ſame degree leſſened that of Marius, who in all his enterpriſes againſt the enemy ſeemed ſlow, indolent, and dilatory; whether it were, that his age had quenched that heat and vigour he was formerly maſter of (for he was now above ſixty-five years old); or that, as he himſelf ſaid, having ſome diſtemper in his nerves, and his body being unfit for action, he underwent the fatigues of the war, which were in truth beyond his ſtrength, merely out of ſhame, and upon a point of honour. However, he came off victor in a conſiderable engagement, wherein he ſlew ſix thouſand of the enemies and never gave them any advantage over him. Nay, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the works of the enemy, to be inſulted, braved, and challenged, without being in the leaſt concerned, or provoked at it. It

* It was likewiſe called the *Marſian* war, and broke out the third year of the hundred and ſeventy-ſecond Olympiad, in the ſix hundred and ſixty-ſecond year of Rome. The reader may find in Florus, *l.* iii. *c.* 18. a good comment upon this paſſage in Plutarch.

is

is reported, that when one Popedius Silo, a man of the greateſt eminence and authority among the enemies, ſaid to him, *If thou art a great general, Marius, come down into the plain and fight us*; he anſwered, *If thou art a great general, Popedius, force me to come down and fight.* Another time when the enemy gave them a good opportunity of attacking them, and the Romans, through fear, durſt not charge, ſo that both parties retreated, he called his ſoldiers together, and ſaid to them, *It is a queſtion whether I ſhould call the enemies or you the greater cowards, for neither dare they face your backs, nor you theirs.*

At length, pretending to be incapacitated for ſervice by the infirmity of his body, he laid down his command. Afterwards, when the confederates had been worſted in many engagements, and every one ſaw there was an end of that war, ſeveral of the chief men in Rome made intereſt to have the command of the army againſt Mithridates, when Sulpitius, tribune of the people, a bold and inſolent man, contrary to every body's expectation bringing in Marius, declared him proconſul, and general in that war. Upon this the people were divided; ſome were on Marius's ſide; others voted for Sylla, and jeeringly bade Marius go to his baths at Baiæ to cure his body, worn out, as himſelf confeſſed, with age and catarrhs. For Marius had indeed, near Miſenum, a villa more effeminately and luxurioufly furniſhed than became a man who had been at the head of ſo many armies, and been employed in ſo many expeditions. This houſe Cornelia bought for ſeventy-five thouſand denarii, and not long after Lucius Lucullus for five hundred thouſand two hundred; to ſuch a degree did luxury and prodigality increaſe at Rome in ſo ſhort a time. Notwithſtanding all this, Marius with a youthful pride and ambition, affecting to ſhake off his age and weakneſs, went every day into the Campus

Campus Martius, where, in the moſt robuſt exerciſes with the youth, he ſhowed himſelf ſtill nimble in his armour, and expert in riding; though indeed he was grown leſs active in his old age by reaſon of his great corpulency.

Theſe actions of his pleaſed ſome that went to ſee his emulation in theſe exerciſes; but the better ſort pitied the avarice and ambition of a man, who though he had advanced himſelf from the loweſt poverty and the meaneſt rank to vaſt riches and the higheſt honours, yet knew not how to ſet bounds to his good fortune, nor could be content to enjoy quietly the glory and wealth he had already acquired, but, as if he were ſtill in extreme poverty, would at ſo great an age, and after ſo many honours and triumphs, go to Cappadocia and the Euxine ſea, to fight Archelaus, and Neoptolemus, Mithridates's generals. The reaſon Marius alleged in juſtification of this ſtep was very ridiculous; for he ſaid he had a mind himſelf to train up his ſon in that war.

Rome was now upon the very brink of deſtruction; ſhe had been in a ſickly condition for a long time, and Marius had now found out a fit inſtrument for her ruin in the perſon of Sulpitius. This man in all other reſpects admired and imitated Saturninus; he only found fault with his cowardice, and backwardneſs in his deſigns: he therefore made no ſuch delays, but got ſix hundred horſe about him as his guard, whom he named *his Anti-ſenators*. One day whilſt the conſuls Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were holding an aſſembly in the Forum, Sulpitius came upon them with his aſſaſſins. The conſuls immediately fled, but he ſeized on Pompey's ſon, and ſlew him on the ſpot. Sylla being hotly purſued, fled into Marius's houſe, which not being ſuſpected by thoſe that ſought him, they ran by, and Marius himſelf, as it is ſaid, conveyed him to the back gate, and diſmiſſed him, ſo

that he got ſafe to the camp. But Sylla in his memoirs denies that he fled to the houſe of Marius, and ſays he was carried thither to debate upon ſome matters, which Sulpitius would have him paſs againſt his will; that he was ſurrounded with drawn ſwords, and hurried forcibly to Marius's houſe; and that at laſt he was taken from thence, and carried to the Forum, where they forced him to revoke the order of vacation *, which had been appointed by him and his colleague.

Sulpitius in this manner carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; who, making preparations for his march, ſent two tribunes to receive the charge of the army from Sylla. But he, inſtead of reſigning his charge, led his army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, directly to Rome, having by the way incenſed his ſoldiers, and prepared them to reſent the injuries that had been done him. They firſt murdered the two tribunes who had been ſent to demand the army of Sylla. Marius on the other hand put to death ſeveral of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to as many ſlaves as would take up arms in his behalf. They ſay there were but three that accepted his offer; wherefore after a weak reſiſtance, as Sylla was entering Rome, he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight.

As ſoon as he was got out of Rome, all thoſe who had accompanied him in his flight, ſeparated and diſperſed; and night coming on, he got to a ſmall houſe he had near Rome, called *Salonium*. Hence he ſent his ſon to ſome neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius, to provide neceſſaries, whilſt he himſelf went to Oſtia, where a friend of his, called *Numerius*, had prepared him a ſhip; and, without ſtaying for his ſon, he took with him Gra-

* If that had not been revoked, Sulpitius could not have decreed the command of the army againſt Mithridates to Marius.

nius,

nius, his wife's ſon by a former huſband, and weighed anchor.

As ſoon as young Marius was got upon his grandfather's eſtate, he made all the haſte he could to provide himſelf with ſuch things as he wanted, and to pack them up; but the day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been diſcovered by the enemy; for there came thither a party of horſe upon a ſuppoſition that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. Mutius's bailiff, who had the good fortune to ſpy them at a great diſtance, immediately hid young Marius under a cart-load of beans; then putting to his team, he drove up towards them, as if he was going with his cart to Rome. By this ſtratagem Marius was conveyed to his wife, who ſupplied him with ſome neceſſaries; and as ſoon as it grew dark, he made to the ſea-ſide, where finding a ſhip bound for Africa, and ready to ſail, he immediately got aboard.

In the mean time, Marius the father, with a favourable gale, coaſted Italy, but was in no ſmall apprehenſion of one Geminius, a leading man at Terracina, and his enemy; therefore he directed the ſeamen to keep clear of that place: they were indeed willing to obey him; but the wind ſhifting on a ſudden, and blowing hard from ſea, they were afraid the ſhip would not be able to weather the ſtorm; Marius too being indiſpoſed and ſea-ſick, they with great difficulty made Circæum. The ſtorm now increaſing, and their victuals failing, they went on ſhore, and wandered up and down, they knew not whither, in the uſual condition of perſons in diſtreſs, who always ſhun the preſent evil as the greateſt, and place their hopes on what is unſeen. The land and ſea were both equally unſafe for them, to whom it was dangerous to meet with people, and it was no leſs ſo to meet with none, by reaſon of the extreme want to which they were reduced. Towards the evening they met

with ſome cowherds, who had not wherewithal to relieve them; but knowing Marius, they adviſed him to depart as ſoon as poſſible, for they had ſeen a little beyond that place a party of horſe that were in ſearch of him. This news threw him into the utmoſt deſpair, eſpecially when he ſaw that thoſe who attended him were ready to die for want of ſuſtenance. In this extremity he turned out of the high-road, and hid himſelf in a thick wood, where he paſſed the night very uncomfortably. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had left, before it was all exhauſted, he travelled by the ſea-ſide, encouraging his companions not to deſert him before the accompliſhment of his laſt hope, for which he reſerved himſelf, relying on the credit of ſome old prophecies. He told them, that one day when he was very young, and whilſt he lived in the country, an eagle's neſt with ſeven young ones in it fell into his robe; that his father and mother being much ſurpriſed at the accident, conſulted ſome ſoothſayers upon it, who anſwered that the child would become the firſt of men, and that the fates had decreed he ſhould ſeven times be poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power and authority in his country. Some are of opinion that this really happened to Marius as we have related it; others ſay, that thoſe who were then with him, and heard him relate it on that occaſion, and often repeat it during his exile, took it upon truſt, and committed it to writing, though it was entirely fabulous; for an eagle never lays more than two eggs at a time; wherefore they ſay that Muſæus is miſtaken when he tells us *that the eagle lays three eggs, ſits on two, and hatches but one.* However this may be, it is certain that Marius in his exile and in his greateſt extremities would often ſay, that he had ſtill a proſpect of a ſeventh conſulſhip.

When Marius and his company were now about twenty

twenty furlongs diſtant from Minturnæ, they eſpied a troop of horſe making up towards them, and they happened alſo to ſee at the ſame time two ſhips under ſail; whereupon they ran every one with what ſpeed and ſtrength they could to the ſea, and plunging themſelves into it, ſwam towards the ſhips. Thoſe that were with Granius reached one of them, and paſſed over to an oppoſite iſland called *Ænaria*; Marius himſelf, whoſe body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great pains and difficulty borne above the water by two ſervants, and put into the other ſhip. The ſoldiers were by this time come to the ſea-ſide, and from thence commanded the ſeamen to put to ſhore, or elſe to throw out Marius, telling them they might then go whither they would. Marius beſought them with tears not to deliver him up; and the ſailors, after ſome conſultation, in which they inclined firſt to one ſide, then to the other, reſolved at length to anſwer the ſoldiers, that *they would not throw out Marius*. Upon this they went off in a great rage; and as ſoon as they were gone, the ſailors on a ſudden changing their reſolution, came to land; and caſting anchor at the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows, and makes a great marſh, they adviſed him to land, and to reſt and refreſh himſelf on ſhore, till the weather became more favourable, which they ſaid would happen at a certain hour, when the wind from the ſea would be calm, and that from the marſhes would riſe. Marius followed their advice; and when the ſeamen had ſet him on ſhore, he laid himſelf down in an adjacent field, ſuſpecting nothing leſs than what was to befal him. They, as ſoon as they had got into the ſhip, weighed anchor and departed, thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor ſafe to protect him.

Being thus deſerted by all, he lay a good while ſilently on the ſhore: at length, a little recovering his thoughts, he travelled very diſconſolately

through by-ways, till wading through deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens; and falling at his feet, he beſought him *to aſſiſt and preſerve a man, who, if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation.* The poor man, whether he had formerly known him, or was then moved with his venerable aſpect, told him, *That if he wanted only reſt, his cottage would be ſufficient; but if he were flying from any body's ſearch, he would hide him in a more retired place.* Marius deſiring him to do ſo, he carried him into the fens, and bade him hide himſelf in a hollow cave by the river-ſide, where he laid upon him a great many reeds and other things that were light, and that would cover, but not oppreſs him. But in a ſhort time he was diſturbed with a noiſe and tumult from the cottage; for Geminius had ſent a number of men from Terracina in purſuit of him; one of whom coming that way, terrified and threatened the old man for having entertained and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, who heard what they ſaid, thinking himſelf no longer in ſafety there, aroſe, and ſtripping himſelf, plunged into the bog where the water was moſt thick and muddy; but by this means he diſcovered himſelf to the purſuers. They immediately haled him out naked, and covered with dirt, and in that condition carried him away to Minturnæ, and delivered him into the hands of the magiſtrates; for there had been a proclamation through all thoſe towns, to make public ſearch for Marius, and to kill him when he was found; however, the magiſtrates thought it convenient to conſider of it firſt, and ſent him under a guard to the houſe of one Fannia.

This woman was ſuppoſed not to be very well affected towards him, on account of an affair which had happened long before. She had formerly been married

married to one Tinnius, from whom being afterwards divorced, ſhe demanded her portion, which was very conſiderable: but her huſband, who had no mind to return her fortune, accuſed her of adultery; and the cauſe was brought before Marius, in his ſixth conſulſhip. Upon inquiry it appeared that Fannia had been guilty of incontinence before marriage, and that it was not unknown to Tinnius, notwithſtanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her for a conſiderable time. Marius reprimanded them both, and ordered the man to return the fortune, and laid a ſmall fine upon the woman by way of diſgrace. Notwithſtanding this, Fannia did not now behave herſelf like a woman that had been injured; for inſtead of reſenting the former provocation, as ſoon as ſhe had Marius in her keeping, ſhe took care of him according to her ability, and did all ſhe could to comfort and encourage him. Marius in return highly commended her generoſity, and told her he did not deſpair, for he had met with a very favourable omen, which was this. When he was brought to Fannia's houſe, as ſoon as the gate was open, an aſs came running out to drink at a ſpring hard by; and looking with a very briſk and lively aſpect upon Marius, he firſt ſtood ſtill before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. Upon which Marius made this obſervation, *That the Fates deſigned his ſafety to be procured rather by ſea than land, becauſe the aſs neglected his dry fodder, and turned from it to the water.* Having told Fannia this ſtory, he commanded the chamber-door to be ſhut, and went to reſt.

Mean while the magiſtrates and ſenators of Minturnæ conſulted together, and determined without any farther delay to kill Marius. And when none of their citizens had courage enough to do it, a certain ſoldier, a Gaul, or Cimbrian (for the ſtory is told of both), undertook it, and with his ſword drawn

drawn went into his chamber. That part of the room where Marius lay being dark, it is ſaid that his eyes ſeemed to the man to dart out flames at him, and a loud voice to ſay, *Fellow, dareſt thou kill Caius Marius?* The ruffian immediately dropt his ſword, and ruſhed out into the ſtreet uttering theſe words only, *I cannot kill Caius Marius.* At this they were all at firſt aſtoniſhed, afterwards they pitied Marius, and reverſed their ſentence, and were even angry at themſelves for having made ſo unjuſt and ungrateful a decree againſt one who had preſerved Italy, and whom it was a crime not to aſſiſt. *Let him go,* ſaid they, *where he will into baniſhment, let him find his fate ſomewhere elſe; we beg pardon of the gods for thruſting Marius diſtreſſed and naked out of our city.*

When they had thus conferred among themſelves, they crouded into his chamber, removed him from thence, and conducted him towards the ſea-ſide. Now, though they all ſtrove who ſhould be the moſt officious, and every one eagerly aſſiſted him, an accident happened which retarded them. In the road leading from Minturnæ to the ſea-ſide, was a grove ſacred to a nymph, whom they called *Marica* *. All the inhabitants thereabout had a ſingular veneration for that grove, and took a particular care not to ſuffer any thing to come back, or be removed out of it, that was once within it. To paſs through it therefore was, they thought, impoſſible, and to go round about would take up too much of their time. Whilſt they were in this

* Virgil makes mention of this nymph in the ſeventh book of the Æneid.

——*Et nympha genitum Laurente Marica.*

Where Servius ſays, *Eſt autem Marica dea littoris Minternenſium, juxta Lirim fluvium.* It is pretended that this Marica is the ſame with Circe; and that which ſerves to juſtify this opinion, is the law, injoining that nothing ſhould be ſuffered to go out, which was once got within that holy grove; which without doubt was intended as a token of ſympathizing with Circe in her grief for Ulyſſes, who had forſaken her.

perplexity,

perplexity, an old man among them cried out, *there was no place ſo ſacred, but they might paſs through it for Marius's preſervation.* Upon this, taking up ſome of the baggage which they were carrying to the ſhip, he firſt entered the grove, all the reſt immediately with the ſame readineſs accompanying him. Upon Marius's arrival at the ſea-ſide, he found a ſhip provided for him by one Belæus, and embarked immediately. Some few years after this he cauſed the whole adventure to be repreſented in a picture which he hung up in the temple of this Marica.

The wind happening to carry him to the iſland of Ænaria, he there met with Granius and his other friends, with whom he ſet ſail for Africa. But their water failing them in their paſſage, they were forced to touch at Erycine in Sicily. A Roman queſtor, who was appointed there to guard the coaſt, had like to have ſeized on Marius, and actually killed ſixteen of his retinue, who went aſhore to fetch water. Whereupon Marius with all expedition, looſing from thence, paſſed over to an iſland called *Meninx*, where he firſt heard the news of his ſon's eſcape with Cethegus, and that they were gone to implore the aſſiſtance of Hiempſal king of Numidia. Being ſomewhat comforted with this news, he ventured to paſs from that iſland to Carthage. Sextilius, a Roman, was then prætor in Africa. Marius, who had never done him either injury or kindneſs, hoped he would out of mere pity lend him ſome help. But he was ſcarce got aſhore with a ſmall retinue, when an officer met him, and ſaid, *Sextilius the prætor forbids thee, Marius, to ſet foot in Africa; if thou doſt, he ſays he muſt put the decree of the ſenate in execution, and treat thee as an enemy to the Romans.* When Marius heard this, he wanted words to expreſs his grief and reſentment, and for a good while held his peace, looking ſternly upon the meſſenger, who aſked him what he

he ſhould ſay, and what anſwer he ſhould return to the prætor? Marius replied with a deep ſigh; *Go tell him, that thou haſt ſeen the exiled Marius ſitting on the ruins of Carthage:* by which noble anſwer he well repreſented the fortunes of that city, and his own, as terrible examples of the viciſſitude of all human affairs.

In the mean time, Hiempſal king of Numidia, being undetermined what part to act, treated young Marius and thoſe that were with him very honourably; but whenever they talked of departing, he ſtill found out ſome pretence or other to detain them; and it was manifeſt he made theſe delays with no good deſign. However, they owed their ſafety to a very natural accident. The young Marius was very handſome. His diſtreſs firſt touched one of the king's concubines with pity for him, and that pity was the forerunner of love. She diſcovered her paſſion to him, but the youth declined her ſolicitations; till at laſt perceiving that there was no other way of eſcaping, and that there appeared more of generoſity than wantonneſs in her careſſes, he received the tenders of her affection, and by her means eſcaped with his friends, and came to his father. After they had embraced each other, as they were walking by the ſea-ſide they ſaw ſome ſcorpions fighting; this Marius took for an ill omen, whereupon they immediately went on board a little fiſher-boat, and made toward Cercina, an iſland not far diſtant from the continent. They had ſcarce put off from ſhore, when they ſaw ſome horſe ſent after them by the king, with all ſpeed making toward that very place from which they were juſt departed; ſo that Marius thought that in all his life he had never eſcaped a greater danger.

During theſe occurrences in Africa, and whilſt Sylla was engaged in the war againſt Mithridates's lieutenants in Bœotia, the conſuls Octavius and Cinna

Cinna fell out *, and had recourſe to arms. Octavius prevailing, drove Cinna out of Rome, as a perſon of tyrannical principles, and made Cornelius Merula conſul in his ſtead. But Cinna, levying forces in all the other parts of Italy, raiſed a formidable army, and marched againſt them. As ſoon as Marius heard of this, he reſolved with all expedition to put to ſea again, and having levied in Africa ſome Mauruſian horſe, and a few others that came to him out of Italy, (which all together were not above one thouſand), he with this handful began his voyage. Arriving at Telemone, a haven in Hetruria, and coming aſhore, he proclaimed liberty to the ſlaves; many of the countrymen alſo, and ſhepherds thereabouts, at the name of *Marius* came flocking to him to the ſea-ſide; among whom he made choice of as many as he thought were fit for ſervice; and in a ſmall time he got together a conſiderable army, wherewith he filled forty ſhips. When he reflected that Octavius was an honeſt man, and one that was for governing according to law; and that, on the contrary, Cinna was a perſon ſuſpected by Sylla, and at that time in open war againſt the government, he determined to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly he ſent a meſſage to him, to let him know, *that he ſubmitted himſelf to him, as conſul, in whatſoever he ſhould command him.* Cinna received him with open arms, declared him proconſul, and ſent him the faſces and other enſigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alleging that thoſe marks of grandeur did not ſuit with his preſent diſtreſs: ſo that he continued to wear a mean habit, and to let his hair grow, as it had done from the firſt day of his exile, walking ſlowly and heavily like a man ſtricken in years, for he was then above ſeventy. All this was done to

* Cneius Octavius Nepos, and Lucius Cornelius Cinna were conſuls in the year of Rome 666, eighty-five years before the birth of Chriſt. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was againſt it.

excite

excite compaſſion; though, under this maſk of ſubmiſſion and humility, there ſtill appeared that air of fierceneſs which was ſo natural to him; and it was very evident that his mind was not ſo much dejected as exaſperated, by the change of his condition.

As ſoon as he had paid his reſpect to Cinna, and harangued the ſoldiers, he immediately prepared for war, and ſoon made a conſiderable alteration in the poſture of affairs. He firſt cut off all proviſion from the enemy's ſhips, and plundering all the traders, poſſeſſed himſelf of their ſtores; then coaſting along with his fleet, he ſeized on all the ſea-port towns, took Oſtia itſelf by treachery, pillaged the town, ſlew a multitude of the inhabitants, and making a bridge over the Tiber, took from the enemy all hopes of ſupply from the ſea; then marching with his army toward the city, he poſted himſelf upon the hill called *Janiculum*.

All this while the public intereſt did not receive ſo much damage from Octavius's unſkilfulneſs in his management of affairs, as from his too ſtrict and unſeaſonable obſervance of the laws; for when among other things he was adviſed to enfranchiſe the ſlaves, he anſwered, *He would not make ſlaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away Marius.*

But as ſoon as Cæcilius Metellus, ſon of Metellus Numidicus, who had the command of the army in Africa againſt Jugurtha, and was ſupplanted by Marius, as we have already related, arrived at Rome, where he was eſteemed a much better officer than Octavius, the ſoldiers deſerting the conſul, came to him, and deſired him to take the command upon him, and preſerve the city; adding, that when they had a brave experienced general at their head, they ſhould fight with more alacrity, and with full expectation of victory. But Metellus, highly offended at their deſertion, commanded them to return

return back to their conſul; but, inſtead of obeying his orders, they revolted to the enemy. At the ſame time Metellus himſelf withdrew, ſeeing it was impoſſible to ſave the city.

As for Octavius, ſome Chaldæan fortune-tellers and interpreters of the books of the Sibyls, perſuaded him to remain at Rome, where they aſſured him things would ſoon take another turn in his favour. He was indeed one of the beſt men among the Romans, and ſupported his office with a becoming dignity, not ſuffering himſelf in the leaſt to be impoſed upon by flatterers, but adhering ſtrictly to the laws and cuſtoms of his country, as to an invariable rule. And yet he fell into ſome weakneſſes, which inclined him to place too great a confidence in the art of divination, and to ſpend more of his time among prognoſticators and fortune-tellers, than with men ſkilled in military affairs, and the adminiſtration of a government. Before Marius entered Rome, he ſent ſome of his ſoldiers, who ſeized on Octavius, forced him from the tribunal, and killed him upon the ſpot. It is reported, that a ſcheme of his nativity, drawn by a Chaldæan aſtrologer, was found upon him after he was ſlain. And it was very remarkable, that of two ſuch famous generals, Marius ſhould be preſerved by confidence in divination, and Octavius ruined by the ſame means.

Whilſt affairs remained in this poſture, the ſenate aſſembled, and ſent ambaſſadors to Cinna and Marius, deſiring them to come into the city peaceably, and ſpare the citizens. Cinna as conſul received the embaſſy ſitting on his tribunal, and returned a gracious anſwer by the meſſengers: Marius ſtood by and ſaid nothing, but gave ſufficient teſtimony by the ſourneſs of his countenance, and the ſternneſs of his looks, that he would in a ſhort time fill the city with maſſacres. As ſoon as the meſſengers were diſmiſſed they marched on, and Cinna entered the city

with a ſtrong guard. Marius ſtopped ſhort at the gate, and ſaid with an irony dictated to him by his indignation, *That he was a baniſhed man, and was debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore if they had any occaſion for his ſervice, they muſt repeal that law which drove him into exile*; as if he was a religious obſerver of the laws, and Rome a city free and independent.

To this end the people was ſummoned to an aſſembly in the forum; but before three or four of the tribes had given their ſuffrages, he threw off the maſk, and without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered the city, environed by his guards who were choſen from among the ſlaves that had flocked to him, and whom he called his *Bardiæans* *. Theſe villains, at the leaſt word or ſign given them by Marius, murdered without diſtinction all whom he had doomed for ſlaughter; ſo that when a ſenator called *Ancharius*, one who had been prætor, came up to Marius, and ſaluted him, and Marius did not return the ſalute, they immediately ſlew him before Marius's face. And from this time when any perſons met Marius in the ſtreets and ſaluted him, and he did not return the ſalutation, this was a ſignal to kill them: ſo that his very friends could never come near him without the moſt terrible apprehenſions.

When they had butchered a great number, Cinna grew more remiſs, being cloyed with murders; but Marius's rage was ſtill keen and unſatisfied, he being determined to ſacrifice every Roman that was in the leaſt ſuſpected by him. All the towns, all the highways ſwarmed with aſſaſſins, who like blood-hounds hunted down and ſeized all that fled, or hid themſelves. It appeared on that occaſion, that the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality

* Some manuſcripts read *Ortæans* both in this place and p. 172. where they are mentioned again; but no ſatisfactory account of either appellation has been given by the commentators.

cannot

cannot ſtand the trial in the days of adverſity; for there were then very few that did not betray their friends who had fled to them for ſhelter. Therefore the ſlaves of Cornutus deſerve the higheſt applauſe and admiration for their fidelity to their maſter. For having concealed him at home, they took up in the ſtreets the body of one who had been murdered, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, ſhowed it in that condition to Marius's ſoldiers, and then buried it, as if it had been their maſter's body. By this artifice, which no one ſuſpected, they ſaved Cornutus, and conveyed him into Gaul.

Marcus Antonius the orator, though he likewiſe fell into the hands of a faithful friend, was not ſo fortunate as Cornutus. His friend was a plebeian, and in low circumſtances; however, as he had one of the greateſt men in Rome under his roof, he was reſolved to entertain him as well as he was able. Accordingly he ſent his ſervant to a neighbouring tavern for ſome wine. When the vintner perceived the fellow nicer than ordinary, taſting of ſeveral ſorts, and not ſatisfied but with the very beſt, he aſked him, *What made him ſo hard to pleaſe? and why he who uſed to be content with the new and common ſort, now required the choiceſt and the deareſt?* The ſervant immediately told him in confidence as his friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for Marcus Antonius, who lay concealed in his maſter's houſe. As ſoon as the ſervant was gone, the baſe villanous wretch went himſelf to Marius, who was then at ſupper, and being brought into his preſence, told him, he could deliver Antonius into his hands. As ſoon as he heard it, it is ſaid he gave a great ſhout, and clapped his hands for joy, and would have riſen from the table, and gone to the place himſelf; but being detained by his friends, he ſent Annius and ſome ſoldiers with him, and commanded him to bring Antonius's head to him

with all ſpeed. When they came to the houſe, Annius ſtaid at the door, and the ſoldiers went up ſtairs into the chamber; where, ſeeing Antonius, they endeavoured to ſhift off the murder from one to another; for ſo great it ſeems were the graces and charms of his oratory, that as ſoon as he began to ſpeak and beg for his life, none of them durſt touch, or ſo much as look upon him; but hanging down their heads, they all fell a-weeping. When they had ſtaid a conſiderable time, Annius went up himſelf, and ſaw Antonius diſcourſing, and the ſoldiers aſtoniſhed and quite ſoftened by his eloquence; for which he reprimanded them ſeverely, and then with his own hands cut off his head.

Catulus Lutatius, who was colleague with Marius, and his partner in the triumph over the Cimbri, when Marius had told thoſe that interceded for him and begged his life, *that he muſt die*, ſhut himſelf up in a room, and making a great fire, ſmothered himſelf.

When headleſs carcaſes were now frequently thrown about and trampled upon in the ſtreets, people were not ſo much moved with compaſſion at the ſight, as ſtruck with horror and conſternation. But the outrages committed by the Bardiæans were the moſt terrible of all; for after they had murdered the maſters of families in their own houſes, they proceeded to abuſe their children, and raviſh their wives; nor was there any bounds to their diſſoluteneſs, cruelty, and avarice; till at laſt Cinna and Sertorius having concerted meaſures, ſurpriſed them one night as they lay aſleep in the camp, and killed every one of them.

But now the time was approaching when affairs were to take a different turn; there came news from all parts, that Sylla having put an end to the war with Mithridates, and taken poſſeſſion of the provinces, was returning into Italy with a great army.

my. The expectation of a war near at hand gave ſome ſmall reſpite and intermiſſion to theſe unſpeakable calamities. Marius on this occaſion was the ſeventh time choſen conſul. As he was coming out of his houſe on the calends of January, which is the firſt day of the year, Sextus Lucinus fell in his way, and was by his order flung down the Tarpeian rock. This beginning was looked upon as a ſure ſign and preſage of all the calamities that were to fall upon the city. Marius himſelf, now worn out with labour, and ſinking under the burthen of his cares, could no longer bear up his ſpirits under the apprehenſion of a new war, and freſh encounters, which his own experience repreſented to him would be full of difficulty and danger. He conſidered that he had not now to do with Octavius or Merula, at the head of an undiſciplined licentious rabble; but that Sylla himſelf was approaching, the ſame who had formerly baniſhed him, and had now driven Mithridates to the banks of the Euxine ſea. Being, as it were, devoured by ſuch thoughts as theſe, and calling to mind his baniſhment, the tedious wanderings and dangers he had undergone both by ſea and land, he fell into the deepeſt anxiety, being continually diſturbed by nocturnal frights and hideous dreams, every moment fancying that he heard a voice crying out,

What though the roaring lion be not near,
Yet who his den approaches void of fear?

Dreading above all things to lie awake, he addicted himſelf to drinking, a vice very unſuitable to his age and dignity; but he tried by every method to procure ſleep, as a reſpite from his tormenting reflections. At length there came ſome news from ſea, which ſtill further increaſed his diſtreſs. The preſſure of preſent evils and the fear of thoſe to come ſo impaired his health, that a ſlight accident was ſufficient to bring upon him that diſtemper of

which he died. He fell into a pleuriſy, as Poſidonius the philoſopher relates, who ſays, he went to him, and diſcourſed with him as he lay ſick, about ſome affairs relating to his embaſſy at Rome. But Caius Piſo, the hiſtorian *, tells us, that Marius walking one night after ſupper with ſome of his friends, entertained them with a recital of all his adventures; and after having obſerved to them the inconſtancy of fortune, he concluded with ſaying it did not become a wiſe man any longer to truſt to ſo fickle a deity; and after he had embraced and taken his leave of them, he took to his bed, and died after a ſickneſs of ſeven days.

Some ſay he very much betrayed his ambition, even in his illneſs, and fell into an extravagant frenzy, fancying himſelf to be general in the war againſt Mithridates, putting his body into the ſame poſtures and uttering the ſame continual cries and ſhouts as he uſed when he was engaged in battle; with ſo ſtrong and invincible a deſire of being employed in that ſervice, had his pride and emulation poſſeſſed him. He, though he had now lived threeſcore and ten years, though he was the firſt man that had ever been choſen ſeven times conſul, and was poſſeſſed of ſuch a palace, and riches ſo immenſe, as were ſufficient for many kings, yet complained of his ill fortune, that he muſt now die, before he had attained what he deſired. Plato was of another opinion; for when he ſaw death approaching, he thanked his good genius and fortune; firſt, that he was born a man, and not a brute; ſecondly, that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian; and in the laſt place, that he happened to live in the days of Socrates. And ſo

* Voſſius was of opinion that the hiſtorian here mentioned might be Caius Calpurnius Piſo, who was conſul twenty years after the death of Marius. Cicero ſpeaks of that Piſo in his Brutus, but then, as Voſſius obſerves, he ſpeaks of him only as an orator, and not as an hiſtorian.

indeed

indeed they ſay that Antipater of Tarſus, in like manner, at his death, recollecting what proſperity he had enjoyed, did not omit even his happy voyage to Athens; thus gratefully acknowledging every favour which his indulgent fortune had beſtowed, and treaſuring them up in his memory, that ſecure repoſitory of happineſs. But as to the fooliſh and forgetful, every thing paſt gradually vaniſhes from their minds; and not being able to retain the remembrance of former pleaſures, they are ever ſtrangers to real happineſs, becauſe they indulge vain hopes, and ſacrifice preſent enjoyment for the proſpect of that which is future; and though the one is what we cannot be deprived of, and the other lies wholly at the mercy of fortune, yet they ſlight and reject what is ſure and permanent, and fix their imaginations on that which is precarious and uncertain. And in this they ſuffer only what they deſerve; for they greedily hunt after external advantages, before they have by reaſon and judgment prepared their minds to receive and enjoy them as they ought; and this is the cauſe that they never can ſufficiently gratify their craving appetites, which are unbounded and inſatiable.

Marius died on the ſeventeenth day of his ſeventh conſulſhip, to the great joy of the Romans; who thereby hoped to be delivered from the calamities of an oppreſſive and cruel tyranny; but in a ſhort time they found they had only changed an old feeble tyrant for another young and vigorous; ſo much cruelty and ſavageneſs did his ſon Marius ſhow in murdering the beſt and moſt eminent of the citizens. At firſt being eſteemed reſolute and daring in action, he was named *the ſon of Mars*; but afterwards, his actions betraying a contrary diſpoſition, he was called *the ſon of Venus*. At laſt he was beſieged by Sylla in Prænesſte, where he endeavoured by all means to ſave his life, but in vain; for

for when the city was taken, there being no way of eſcape, he ſlew himſelf.

The Compariſon of PYRRHUS with MARIUS. By Mr DACIER.

HAving thus drawn together what ſeemed moſt remarkable in the lives of Pyrrhus and Marius, it is now time to proceed to a compariſon, and ſhow wherein they differ and agree, and the advantages the one has over the other.

The difference with reſpect to their birth is ſo infinitely great, that there does not appear the leaſt room for any compariſon. How can a man whoſe parents were obſcure and indigent, and forced to get their bread with the ſweat of their brow, who was born in a little country-village, and had only a mean and ruſtic education; how can ſuch a one, I ſay, be compared with a prince like Pyrrhus, born on a throne, and conſequently a ſon of Jupiter by a double title, by his character of king, (for kings are ſo called), and by his birth, being deſcended from that god in a long ſeries of royal progenitors?

But this great and ſenſible difference which nature made between them, may be ſaid to have been effaced by fortune, who crowned Marius with greater honours, and a larger ſhare of power, than ſhe had ever granted to any Roman before him; and this makes not a little on the ſide of Marius. It is no ſtrange thing for a prince dignified with ſo many titles to recover his right, and add other poſſeſſions to his hereditary dominions; kings ſeldom ſink ſo low, but ſome time or other means are found to reſtore them; the title of king appears ſo holy and venerable in the eye of the world, that their calamities ſeem to challenge pity and aſſiſtance,

ance, eſpecially from thoſe who are veſted with the ſame ſacred character. But for a man iſſuing from the dregs of the people, from beginnings ſo weak and miſerable, for ſuch a man to raiſe himſelf up to that pitch of grandeur, as to merit ſo many honourable employments, and the command of ſuch invincible armies, this indeed is wonderful. Fortune muſt have diſcovered in this man ſome great qualities, ſome uncommon talents, otherwiſe ſhe would not have made him even to his dying day the object either of her favour, or caprice.

Neither is it fortune only that ſet Marius upon a level with Pyrrhus; nature contributed to it not a little, as if ſhe had a mind to make him ſome compenſation for the injury ſhe had done him in his birth.

Pyrrhus had all the qualities both of body and mind, which are neceſſary in a great commander, ſuch as prudence, temperance, fortitude, and vivacity. He was conſtant, patient, and laborious; of a conſtitution fit to encounter the greateſt fatigues; and with all this he had an air of majeſty, but ſuch an air as was rather terrible than venerable.

Marius likewiſe was by nature lively, frugal, laborious, conſtant, patient, indefatigable, and of ſuch a preſence of mind, as kept him as cool and undiſturbed in the heat of action and in danger, as in times of repoſe. He likewiſe had an air of majeſty, but an air ſtill more auſtere and terrible.

Pyrrhus came behind no prince whatever in courage and intrepidity. To ſee him in battle, one would think we beheld in him the vivacity, the intrepidity, and that heroic valour of Alexander, which ſeemed not ſo much the effect of the rapid motions of the ſpirits, as a tranſport and divine impulſe. And no perſon was ſuperior to Marius in thoſe very qualities.

They both gave early proofs of their valour. Pyrrhus, when he was but ſixteen years old, ſignalized

lized himſelf at the battle of Ipſus, where ſo many kings were engaged; and Marius, when he was much about the ſame age, gave diſtinguiſhing marks of his valour at the ſiege of Numantia, where he acquired a great reputation.

It muſt be confeſſed, that Marius never gave ſuch a proof of the ſtrength of his arm as Pyrrhus did, when, wounded as he was in the head, he cleft in two, with one ſtroke of his cymeter, a captain of the Mamertines, completely armed, and as remarkable for his ſtature as the brightneſs of his armour.

Neither did Marius ever perform any perſonal action ſo ſignal as was that of Pyrrhus, when at the ſiege of Eryx, in Sicily, he was the firſt that mounted the wall, ſuſtained alone for a long time all the efforts of the Barbarians, diſperſed ſome, caſt others down headlong, and killing the moſt obſtinate outright, entrenched himſelf as it were within a rampart of the dead. Such was Alexander on the walls of the city of the Oxydracæ.

But it is neither from thoſe manual exploits, nor thoſe inconſiderate tranſports, which ſubject reaſon to fortune, that we are to judge of a general. Thoſe are fit only for common ſoldiers, or ſubalterns; and as ſuch, the firſt action of Pyrrhus may be matched by the combat of Marius, in his firſt campaign, wherein he killed his enemy under the walls of Numantia, in the preſence of his general. And what inſtances of his valour may we not reaſonably imagine he gave in the courſe of that ſiege, to deſerve this commendation from Scipio, *That it was likely he might one day ſupply his place?*

Being both born with an equal paſſion for war, peace was inſupportable to them both, even when their honours and proſperity were at the height, and when their ambition ought to have been ſatisfied. But if it be a fault in a king to be an enemy to peace, though it be the moſt deſirable thing in the world,

world, much more muſt it be ſo in a private perſon. We cannot without horror think upon the man, who never ſatisfied, is for raiſing himſelf up to a ſtill higher pitch of reputation and glory upon the ruins of his country.

Pyrrhus had ſo great knowledge and capacity in the art of war, eſpecially in the leading of troops, and ranging them in order of battle, that he did not think it ſufficient to give a teſtimony of it in all his engagements, but left behind him rules in writing upon that ſubject.

Marius was not at all inferior to him in that article. In all the battles wherein he commanded, we may clearly diſcover his great prudence and capacity, in the diſpoſition of his troops, in the choice of the ground, in making the moſt of his own advantages, and in weakening and diminiſhing thoſe of the enemy. What he did before the battle with the Ambrones, to accuſtom his ſoldiers by degrees to bear the ſight of the enemy, is in itſelf ſufficient to prove him a great general. The change he introduced in the ſoldiers javelins, is an inſtance of his great foreſight and penetration. And if he has left nothing behind him in writing relating to the art of war, he has however left a laſting monument of his great prudence and capacity in his works at the mouth of the Rhone, which were deſigned for the ſervice of his convoys.

There is another circumſtance, which, in my opinion, gives Marius the advantage over Pyrrhus. In all the wars wherein Marius had the command, it does not appear that he ever made one falſe ſtep, much leſs any one like that of Pyrrhus before Lacedæmon. He found the city in a defenceleſs condition, and yet inſtead of attacking it immediately, as he might have done with great eaſe, he ſpent his time in encamping, and ſo gave the citizens a whole night to provide for their defence. Nothing can be a ſtronger inſtance

than

than this, of what great importance it is in war to make uſe of the preſent opportunity, and not to delay till to-morrow what may be put in execution immediately. An opportunity once loſt is not only irretrieveable, or at leaſt very difficult to be repaired, but is often attended with very fatal conſequences. One night's reſpite gave the Lacedæmonians time to fortify themſelves, which did not only make Pyrrhus miſcarry in his enterpriſe, but opened a door to all the calamities that ſucceeded, as well on his march towards Argos, wherein he loſt his ſon, as in Argos itſelf, where he was unhappily killed himſelf; all which might have been avoided, had he made himſelf maſter of Sparta.

As for their military exploits, and the actions wherein they were engaged, it will require the knowledge of an experienced general to weigh them exactly, and determine which of them were the moſt glorious. This indeed may be ſaid in general, that in all the exploits of Pyrrhus nothing appears ſo great and illuſtrious as in that of Marius againſt the Ambrones, the Teutones, and the Cimbri. Never had Italy, nor Rome itſelf, been menaced with ſo imminent a ruin before; three hundred thouſand men, like an impetuous torrent, over-ran the country; nothing could reſiſt their fury; they were formidable not only for their numbers, and the amazing ſtrength of their bodies, their courage, fierceneſs, and obſtinacy, but ſtill more ſo by the ſucceſs which had attended their firſt undertakings. They had already defeated ſeveral Roman armies, and commanders of great reputation, ſo that Rome had no pilot left but Marius to conduct her through the dreadful tempeſt which then hung over her.

If we examine into the conduct of Marius on this important occaſion, with what conſtancy he ſupported the inſults and boaſts of the enemy when they dared him to the combat, and the murmurs of his

his own ſoldiers, who were impatient to engage; in how prudent and cautious a manner he followed them when they decamped; the orders he gave when an accident had brought on an engagement with the Ambrones, cauſing the Ligurians to charge firſt, and ordering the Romans to ſupport them; the prudence and valour he exerted the day following in the battle with the Teutones, whoſe overthrow was entirely owing to his ſingular courage and conduct; we muſt confeſs, that, in no action whatever, all the qualities requiſite to a great commander can appear in a ſtronger light.

To this perhaps may be oppoſed the victory obtained by Pyrrhus over the Romans, commanded by the conſul Lævinus; for to make a right judgment of two exploits, we muſt compare the enemies againſt whom they were both performed. Now, the army of the Romans overthrown by Pyrrhus, did not conſiſt of an innumerable ſwarm of Barbarians, conducted by a blind headſtrong fury, which often proves pernicious to itſelf; it was compoſed of troops well trained and diſciplined; it was not a band of men who would give ground at the firſt ſhock, and when once broken were unable to rally and recover themſelves; it was a firm body, well compacted and united, where all the parts concurred to the mutual ſupport of each other, and though broken and driven back ſeven times together, it as often returned to the charge, and repelled the enemy; ſo that the Romans were juſt upon the point of carrying the day, when Pyrrhus, who had been thought dead, returning into the field, reſtored the fight, let his elephants looſe upon them, and having put them into diſorder, charged them ſo ſeaſonably with the flower of his cavalry, that he entirely defeated them, and obtained the victory; a victory ſo much the more glorious as it had been diſputed with great obſtinacy, and as the Ro-

mans themſelves confeſſed that it was entirely owing to his good ſenſe and excellent conduct.

It may be ſaid of Marius that he was never beaten; whereas Pyrrhus was twice defeated by thoſe very Romans he had juſt before overthrown; the firſt time near Aſculum, which was occaſioned by the ill choice he had made of his ground; and yet I know not whether that may be called a fault in a general, which is as ſoon mended as committed. The very next day he had his revenge; he defeated the Romans, and obtained a ſecond victory as glorious as the firſt. He did not ſucceed ſo well in the engagement near Beneventum, where he was totally routed by Manius Curius, and the victory on the ſide of the Romans was ſo conſiderable, that it obliged him to quit Italy, and give over all thoſe ambitious deſigns that had carried him thither. However it may be ſaid on this occaſion, that fortune had a mind it ſhould appear that ſhe ſometimes knows how to triumph over wiſdom and prudence. Nothing could be better undertaken or concerted than the deſign of Pyrrhus, to go and attack one of the conſuls before the other could have time to join him. The unlucky accidents that happened in the night during his march, were the principal cauſe of the fatal blow he received on that occaſion.

But Marius had the favour of fortune attending him in all his expeditions, as if ſhe had made it a point to have the honour of that continued ſucceſs which he ſecured to himſelf by his great ſkill and excellent underſtanding.

After he had defeated the Ambrones and the Teutones, he marched to the ſuccour of his colleague Lutatius Catulus, repaired the fault he had committed in quitting the paſſes of the mountains, animated him by his preſence, paſſed the Po, defeated the Cimbri in a pitched battle, and by this finiſhing

finiſhing ſtroke provided for the ſafety of Rome effectually.

But what ſtill exalts the victories of Marius above thoſe of Pyrrhus, is the benefit that flowed from them. None of Pyrrhus's conqueſts ever turned to the advantage of his country; if he gained Macedonia, he was obliged to ſhare it with another, and at laſt he entirely loſt it. His moſt important expeditions were undertaken for the ſuccour of the Tarentines, the driving the Carthaginians out of Sicily, or for re-eſtabliſhing a king who had been deprived of his government in Sparta; and in all theſe he miſcarried. On the contrary, Marius, by his exploits, delivered Rome from the terror of Jugurtha, the moſt formidable enemy ſhe ever had, next to Hannibal, and preſerved all Italy from the inundation of the Barbarians. It is indeed glorious in a prince to relieve the oppreſſed; but he owes much leſs to his neighbours than his own ſubjects, whoſe ſafety and proſperity ought to be his ſupreme law. Pyrrhus was unable to reſtore the affairs of thoſe he undertook to aſſiſt, and at the ſame time ruined his own entirely.

If the exploits of Marius had the advantage over thoſe of Pyrrhus in the ends obtained by them, they had it ſtill more by the honours they procured him. All the elogies, all the reputation Pyrrhus acquired by his achievements, the pompous inſcription he cauſed to be put up in the temple of Minerva, are not to be compared to the leaſt of the honours obtained by Marius.

Had Pyrrhus ſucceeded in all his undertakings, what honours could have rendered him equal to the glorious title given to Marius of *the third founder of Rome?* And yet even this is not the higheſt pitch of glory to which he was advanced. That inward ſenſe of gratitude which obliged the Romans when at home, among their wives and children, to aſſociate him with their gods in their domeſtic repaſts,

and make their libations to him as well as them, is without contradiction the higheſt and moſt deſirable honour that can be attained by mortals.

But if, in order to paſs a right judgment upon mens actions, we are not to conſider them either in themſelves, or in their effects, or in the honours that have attended them, but in the motives by which they have been produced, it is certain, that neither the exploits of Pyrrhus nor thoſe of Marius are worthy of much commendation, being deſtitute of that which can give them the only true merit; I mean, a juſt and honourable motive, the very life and ſoul of all noble actions. No actions, no exploits whatever, unleſs undertaken for the ſake of juſtice, and the good of mankind, are truly laudable. But this was what neither Pyrrhus nor Marius ever had in view. Neither the one nor the other ever did any thing, but purely to gratify his private ambition, and inſatiable deſire of glory. Pyrrhus eagerly purſuing every ſhadow that flattered his ambition, fed hope with hope, loſt what he had by catching at what he had not, being always in motion, and incapable of reſt; and when fortune offered him at the ſame time two fields for the performance of great actions, he was more afflicted at the loſs of the one than ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the other.

Marius's ambition was altogether as exceſſive and unwarrantable. Though he was born poor, and of obſcure parentage, neither the immenſe riches he had acquired, which might have been ſufficient for ſovereign princes, nor the gain of ſo many battles, nor two triumphs, nor ſeven conſulſhips, which were more than any man had obtained before him, nor, in ſhort, thoſe divine honours which were paid to him in private, and were the more ſincere, as they were remote from oſtentation, and conſequently from flattery, all theſe could not ſatisfy him; he thought himſelf as deſtitute as if he had

obtained

obtained nothing of what he had deſired. When he was ſeventy years old, he could not bear with patience to have another general named for the war againſt Mithridates; he was for waſting the dregs of life in Aſia, and entering the liſts againſt the king's lieutenants. His mind was ſo poſſeſſed with this thought, that in the deliriums of his laſt ſickneſs this was uppermoſt, and he died raving in an imaginary combat with Mithridates.

It may be ſaid perhaps in his juſtification, that having ſo lately, when he was ſixty-five years old, gained a ſignal victory over the confederates, and made it appear in the courſe of that war, that the weakneſs of his body, of which he complained, had not impaired his underſtanding, or leſſened the vigour of his mind, it ought not to appear ſtrange, that he ſhould in ſo little a time after think himſelf ſtill capable of ſerving his country, and in a condition to march againſt Mithridates, eſpecially ſince at that age he was able to undergo the fatigues of the Campus Martius, and could ſhow that his body was ſtill active and proper for feats of arms. How many commanders have there been who ſerved their country profitably, and in an age more advanced performed many gallant actions? But this is a frivolous excuſe. For if Marius had had nothing elſe in view but to devote his age to the ſervice of his country, he ought to have waited till he had been named by the people, and not have entered into cabals; much leſs ſhould he have made uſe of the ſervices of a bold ſeditious tribune, and, by his oppoſition to Sylla, have driven Rome to the brink of ruin.

This unmeaſurable ambition, which was the ſpring of all Marius's actions, as well as thoſe of Pyrrhus, makes it clearly evident, that the moral virtues were not the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic either of the one, or the other. However it may be ſaid, that in this reſpect Marius came infinitely

ſhort of Pyrrhus. That prince had ſeveral amiable qualities; he was grateful, never forgetting any good office that had been done him, but impatient till he had returned it; and when the unexpected death of thoſe who had ſerved him had taken out of his power the means of acknowledgment, he looked on it as a loſs never to be recovered. It is true, he is charged with ingratitude and infidelity towards the cities in Sicily which had received him, and towards thoſe two officers Soſtratus and Thonon, who had done him ſuch ſignal ſervices; and it is difficult to juſtify him, for he uſed thoſe cities like a tyrant. He put Thonon to death; and would have done the ſame by Soſtratus, if he, perceiving his coldneſs towards him, had not ſecured himſelf by flight. But theſe actions muſt be conſidered as flowing not ſo much from the ſpirit of ingratitude, as an exceſs of ambition. The violent deſire he had of conquering Africa, had ſtifled in his mind the remembrance of all the ſervices he had received from thoſe cities, and thoſe friends; for in the heart of an ambitious perſon every virtue is ſubordinate to that unbounded ambition. This is the only inſtance wherein Pyrrhus can be accuſed of ingratitude; in all others he made it appear, that he had a mind truly grateful. But that which is moſt remarkable, and includes a profitable admonition to all princes and governors, is, that this ingratitude alone loſt him Sicily, to drive him out of which the Sicilians confederated with the Carthaginians, the very people againſt whom they had called for his aſſiſtance.

But we meet with nothing like this in Marius, who never gave any inſtance of gratitude; his behaviour to his patron Herennius, who, in order to ſerve him, refuſed to witneſs againſt him, as againſt his client, and his uſage of Metellus the very next day after Metellus had laid for him the foundation of his fortune, by chuſing him for his lieutenant,

tenant, are undeniable teſtimonies of his ingratitude.

Pyrrhus was gentle, and not eaſily provoked; Marius was paſſionate and inexorable. It is true, Pyrrhus murdered Neoptolemus at a feaſt in his own palace, after he had aſſociated him in the kingdom; but in this he was only beforehand with Neoptolemus, who was in a plot againſt him. Whereas Marius was always ready to deſtroy not only his enemies and competitors, but the moſt unknown, and even the moſt innocent. Lutatius Catulus had been his colleague in the conſulſhip, had commanded the army, and triumphed with him; beſide this he was a good man, and had ſacrificed his own glory to that of his country. Marius never could forgive him his good fortune, in having contributed more than himſelf to the defeat of the Cimbri; he reſolved he ſhould die, and Catulus was obliged to put an end to his own life. His behaviour in the caſe of Turpilius, who was accuſed of delivering up the city of Vacca to Jugurtha, is ſtill more execrable; he was one of the judges at his trial when he was condemned to die; and it appearing afterwards, when it was too late, that he was innocent, the other judges were ſtruck with remorſe for what they had done; Marius alone rejoiced at it, as if he had performed a brave action, and boaſted every where that he was the perſon who had obliged the conſul Metellus to pronounce an unjuſt decree, and had thereby faſtened on his conſcience an avenging fury that would be every moment tormenting him. Fool that he was, to think an avenging fury haunted Metellus, who, as conſul, had done no more than pronounce a decree, which had been carried againſt his opinion; and not to apprehend one more dreadful in his own boſom, who had been the author and promoter of that decree.

Soon after this enormous action he did another

of

of a contrary nature, which can never be too much admired. Trebonius had killed his nephew; every one believed that to kill the nephew of ſuch a general as Marius, a perſon ſo paſſionate, ſo revengeful, and unjuſt, though done upon never ſo ſtrong provocations, was of all crimes the moſt capital; and yet Marius did not only acquit Trebonius, but honoured him with a crown, which he preſented him with his own hands in approbation of the action. Happy had he been if he had thus ſacrificed the life of a relation, not to his ambitious and ſelf-intereſted views, but to wiſdom and virtue.

There is not to be found in the life of Pyrrhus any act of juſtice ſo ſignal and exemplary, as this of Marius; but we find in it many inſtances of a ſtrong regard for virtue and prudence; and it is no ſmall merit in a prince to diſtinguiſh and countenance men of virtue. The eſteem Pyrrhus expreſſed for Fabricius, the diſtinction wherewith he always treated him, and the generous offers he made him when he invited him into his ſervice, plainly ſhow how much he admired virtue, magnanimity, and wiſdom, qualities in no eſteem with Marius.

If we would inquire into the cauſe of the difference between them in that reſpect, it is very obvious; it was their education. Pyrrhus had been well trained in his youth, he had been at Athens; and it is not to be doubted but philoſophy, which, had then made a conſiderable progreſs in the world, in ſome degree enlightened him. Of this his converſation at table with Cineas, and Fabricius, is a ſufficent proof; whereas Marius paſſed the early part of life in a ruſtic obſcurity, without any education, and thus acquired ſuch an utter averſion to the Greek learning, that he could never be brought to endure it. Now, it is a certain rule that an averſion to the muſes never paſſes with impunity. He was like a rank ſoil, which for want of culture

produces

produces more unwholeſome herbs than uſeful. That ruſticity, that fierceneſs, that ignorance of what was good, which ſtuck to him through the whole courſe of his life, were the effects of that unhappy averſion. This was the ſource of that unbounded licentiouſneſs in authority, that low and timorous ſpirit in the popular aſſemblies, where he always ſacrificed virtue to fortune, on purpoſe to make his court to thoſe who could either advance, or debaſe him, and all thoſe other vices, which made him unhappy even in his greateſt elevation.

Impoſture was his favourite quality. In this he made the greateſt ſhare of virtue and ability to conſiſt; nay, he profaned even the ſanctuary of juſtice with it; what he did in full ſenate on purpoſe to enſnare Metellus, was an action of ſo vile a nature as would ſuffice to blacken the character of a man wiſe in all other reſpects, if wiſdom is any where to be found without juſtice.

It is true, Pyrrhus was not entirely clear from this vice. He may juſtly be reproached with what he ſaid to the Spartan ambaſſadors, when, upon his entering at the head of his army into Peloponneſus, he aſſured them that he was only come to ſet thoſe cities free that had been ſeized by Antigonus, and that he had a deſign to ſend his younger children to Lacedæmon for the benefit of their education. Such a lie as this admits of no excuſe. Plato was in the right when he ſaid that a prince, or general, might be allowed to lie to his enemies, but he means declared enemies; he is to be underſtood to ſpeak of ſuch lies as war authoriſes. He tells us likewiſe that a man may lie and impoſe upon his fellow-citizens, but it muſt be in ſuch a manner as a phyſician impoſes upon his patient.

Of all the wicked actions charged upon Marius, the moſt criminal and abominable was that of going into Aſia on purpoſe to excite the kings againſt the Romans,

Romans, and bring new wars upon them, that they might in that preſſing danger be obliged once more to chuſe him for their general. All other crimes are included in this alone. What an unhappy thirſt of glory, what a madneſs is it for a man to ſacrifice his country to his ambition!

It is not therefore to be wondered at if a man ſo paſſionate, ſo fierce, ſo totally poſſeſſed with a deſire of rule, ſhould plunge himſelf in the cloſe of life into all ſorts of cruelty and injuſtice. Men of his outrageous temper, when once they have broken through the bounds and obligations of juſtice, grow too headſtrong for any other ties; the greateſt exceſs of iniquity becomes neceſſary, for they cannot aſſure to themſelves impunity for their firſt tranſgreſſions without the help of the latter. To this was owing that deluge of blood, with which Rome was overflowed towards the end of Marius's life; and of what blood? the chief of the ſenate, perſons of the greateſt worth fell victims to his unbounded fury; the ſwords of the Cimbri would not have been ſo cruel.

We find nothing like this in the life of Pyrrhus. If, notwithſtanding his perſonal courage, he was inferior to Marius in warlike exploits, he was infinitely ſuperior to him in every thing relating to civil life. In other reſpects the conformity between them is very great, with this difference, that one began, and the other ended his life in miſery.

Pyrrhus was in a manner born a fugitive, carried for refuge to the court of a foreign prince, where his enemies demanded him to be delivered up to deſtruction. Marius met with the ſame misfortune in his latter days, after his ſixth conſulſhip.

At twelve years of age Pyrrhus was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, and five years after that he loſt it again through his own folly, going out of his dominions upon a frivolous occaſion.

Marius,

Marius, though not ſo well educated as Pyrrhus, would never have committed an error ſo contrary to good policy.

It may be ſaid that all men are fond of dreams and omens, that is, in a word, of divination. It is a weakneſs rooted in nature, which is ever inquiſitive, and deſirous to look into futurity. But this fondneſs appears more conſpicuous in perſons of the firſt rank, who act in the higheſt ſpheres, either becauſe they are really touched with this infatuation as well as others, or pretend to it out of policy for the better carrying on of their deſigns. Pyrrhus found himſelf much encouraged by a dream, wherein he fancied Alexander appeared to him, and promiſed him his aſſiſtance. At another time he dreamed he was darting thunderbolts upon Lacedæmon, and verily thought he ſhould take it the next day by aſſault. But this dream contained a quite different interpretation, as appeared by the event. On the other hand, he was alarmed at the omen before Argos, when the heads of the oxen that had been ſacrificed, and which lay upon the ground, thruſt out their tongues, and licked up their own blood. And in the city of Argos he no ſooner beheld the brazen wolf and bull encountering each other, but recalling to mind an ancient oracle, which threatened him with approaching death whenever he ſaw thoſe two animals engaged in fight, he thought of retiring, and dropping his enterpriſe.

Marius was touched with the ſame credulity. He carried up and down with him a Syrian propheteſs, for whom he expreſſed the higheſt eſteem and veneration. The two vultures that appeared to the army every time he was to obtain ſome important victory, flattered him agreeably. To comfort him in the greateſt of his misfortunes, he remembered the explication the diviners had given to a prodigy which had happened to him in his childhood,

hood, when an eagle let fall into his robe an aerie, wherein were ſeven young ones; and on the coaſt of Africa the ſight of two ſcorpions fighting ſeemed to foretel him that the way he was in would prove dangerous; for which reaſon he quitted it, and got very ſeaſonably on board a fiſhing-veſſel. It was not therefore without reaſon ſaid that Marius's confidence in divination preſerved him. Pyrrhus, who repoſed the like confidence in it, had been ſaved too, if he had had time to withdraw, as he intended, upon ſight of the brazen wolf and bull. But thoſe ſigns were too deciſive, and could not be eluded; for, as he ſaid himſelf on another occaſion, *deſtiny is unavoidable*.

That terrible air which nature had imprinted in both their countenances, was moſt diſcernible in both on almoſt the ſame occaſions, but with very different effects. The Gaul ſent to kill Marius as he lay in his chamber at Minturnæ, ſaw as it were lightning ſparkling from his eyes, whereupon he flung away his ſword, and fled.

Pyrrhus recovering out of the ſwoon occaſioned by a wound which he received from the fall of a tile flung upon him, with one look ſo terrified the ſoldier, who that moment had raiſed his ſword in order to cut off his head, that he could not take a right aim, ſo that it was with much terror and difficulty he executed his purpoſe.

Their end was very different. Pyrrhus fell unhappily in a fight in the middle of the city of Argos, wounded by a woman, and killed outright by a ſoldier, who cut off his head. But Marius, notwithſtanding all the cruelties he had exerciſed, ſtill thirſting after blood, died in his bed. But this death, which appeared compoſed and natural, was in reality more tragical than that of Pyrrhus; for he paſſed the laſt days of his life under ſuch anxieties and terrors, that he could enjoy no reſt either by day or night. He died equally tormented with

the

the remembrance of the paſt, the ſenſe of the preſent, and the fear of the future. That avenging fury to which he would have delivered over Metellus, began to puniſh him even in this life, and to call him to a ſevere account for all the blood he had ſpilt. So true is what Plato ſays, that the impious and wicked at the approach of death begin to fear every thing, of which they had made a mock before: then does dread and diſtruſt ſeize them, remorſe torments them, and their only companion, whether aſleep or awake, is deſpair. Whereas that perſon who has no cauſe to reproach himſelf, and who has ſpent his life innocently, is always full of comfortable hope, which Pindar calls *the tender nurſe of old men. They*, ſays he, *who have walked in the ways of purity and juſtice, are always poſſeſſed with that comfortable hope, which rejoices the heart, that comfortable hope which is the tender nurſe of age, and more eſpecially governs the fickle mind of mortals.* For it is an inconteſtable truth, that a happy old age is a crown of glory, and is no where to be found but in the paths of juſtice.

THE LIFE OF LYSANDER.

IN the treasury of the Acanthii at Delphi, there is this inscription: *Brasidas and the Acanthii took this from the Athenians* *. From hence many are of opinion, that the marble statue within the temple-door was designed for Brasidas; but it is rather Lysander's, whom it represents exactly with his hair in its full growth †, and a long comely beard, both after the old Lacedæmonian fashion. The origin of this custom is not to be placed so low, as some people would have it; it not being true, that the Argives shaved themselves for grief, after a great overthrow; and that the Spartans, on the contrary, flushed with victory, let their hair grow beyond its usual length. Neither can we allow, that because the Bacchiadæ ‡, when they fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, seemed mean

* Brasidas, general of the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the Acanthians to revolt from Athens, and receive the Spartans into their city, of which we have a full account in the fourth book of Thucydides.

† I cannot see the force of this argument; for long hair might as well suit Brasidas as Lysander, since they both lived at the same time; for Lysander was made general of the Lacedæmonians thirteen or fourteen years after the death of Brasidas.

‡ These Bacchiadæ, so called from Bacchis, the son of Prumnis, who made himself master of Corinth, governed there for five generations, or, as Strabo writes, for the space of 200 years.

and

and deſpicable, upon account of their being ſhaved, the Lacedæmonians for that reaſon began to eſteem long hair. For this cuſtom may be traced very eaſily from Lycurgus, who uſed to ſay, *That long hair made handſome men appear more beautiful to the eye, and the unhandſome more terrible.*

It is generally agreed, that Ariſtoclitus *, Lyſander's father, though he was not immediately deſcended from royal anceſtors, was, however, related to the family of the Heraclidæ. As for Lyſander, he was bred up in poverty, and always ſhowed a ſingular reſpect to the diſcipline and manners of his country. He was brave, and ſuperior to all ſorts of pleaſure, that alone excepted, which aroſe from the honour and applauſe that attend great actions. And to indulge this pleaſure was very excuſable at Sparta, where their youth were fired with an early deſire of glory, taught to be dejected under diſgrace, and to be elated by commendation. And he that was inſenſible of theſe, was looked upon as one of a mean ſpirit, and incapable of aſpiring to any thing great or manly. Therefore we are not to blame that emulation and thirſt after fame, which appeared in the whole courſe of Lyſander's life; it came from his country and education. But the deference which he paid to great men, ſeems to have been too ſervile, and more than became a Spartan; and where his intereſt was concerned, he bore the frowns of men in authority too patiently. This, however, by ſome is reckoned no ſmall part of policy.

Ariſtotle, where he obſerves that great wits are generally inclined to melancholy, (inſtancing in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules), ſays too, that Lyſander, though not in his youth, was in his declining age ſubject to it †. But that which peculiarly diſtin-

* He is called by Pauſanias and other writers *Ariſtocritus*.

† The paſſage alluded to here by Plutarch is in the 30th ſection of his problems.

guiſhed his character, was the way he had of making poverty ſit well upon him, and of keeping his mind ſteady and untainted in the greateſt affluence. For he reſerved nothing for himſelf out of all thoſe ſpoils of gold and ſilver which he brought from the Attic war, but liberally diſperſed them among his countrymen, who upon this increaſe of riches began to value them as much as they deſpiſed them before. When Dionyſius the tyrant would have preſented his daughters with ſome garments richly embroidered, he refuſed them, ſaying, *They were fit only to make diſagreeable faces more remarkable.* Afterwards, however, being ſent ambaſſador to the ſame tyrant, when he offered him two veſts, and deſired him to make choice of that which he liked beſt for his daughter, he replied, *My daughter knows better how to chuſe than I do*; and ſo took them both.

After a long continuance of the Peloponneſian war, when the Athenians had received a great blow in Sicily, and were under great apprehenſions of loſing all their power at ſea, Alcibiades being recalled from baniſhment, managed the war with ſuch ſucceſs, that he quickly changed the whole ſtate of affairs, and, after ſome engagements, made the Athenians equal in naval power to the Lacedæmonians, who now began to be ſenſible of their dangerous condition, and were reſolved to exert themſelves more vigorouſly. They knew this deſign required greater preparations and a bold commander. They therefore gave the command of the fleet to Lyſander.

Being arrived at Epheſus, he found that city very well inclined to him, and wholly in the intereſt of the Lacedæmonians, though at that time in a very unhappy ſituation; for it was in danger of being over-run with the barbarous cuſtoms of the Perſians, by reaſon of their frequent commerce with the inhabitants, as it was ſituated in the neighbourhood of Lydia, and as the great officers of the

king

king of Perſia frequently reſided there. Lyſander having pitched his camp near the city, commanded all his ſtore-ſhips to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for his galleys; and by this means their ports were frequented by merchants, their market-place was full of buſineſs, and their ſhops had a plentiful trade; ſo that this city ought to date from that time its firſt proſpect of the greatneſs and ſplendour in which it now flouriſhes. Lyſander hearing that Cyrus the king's ſon was at Sardis, went thither that he might have an interview with him, and acquaint him with the treachery of Tiſaphernes, who though he had a commiſſion to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians, and to deſtroy the naval force of the Athenians, upon ſome ſolicitation from Alcibiades (as it was ſuſpected) had acted remiſsly, and, by neglecting to pay his ſoldiers, had occaſioned the ruin of his fleet. Cyrus was eaſily perſuaded to believe the truth of this accuſation; for he had before an ill opinion of Tiſaphernes, and was himſelf particularly diſobliged by him. Lyſander, by theſe means, and the opportunities he had of being familiar with the young prince, entirely gained his affections, and by his agreeable converſation, and reſpectful behaviour, engaged him ſtrongly on his ſide. When Lyſander was about to depart, Cyrus, after he had ſplendidly entertained him, deſired him, not to refuſe to make uſe of his friendſhip, and aſſured him whatſoever he aſked ſhould be granted. Lyſander replied, *Since, Cyrus, you expreſs ſuch kindneſs for me, I beg you would add an obolus to the ſeamens pay, ſo that inſtead of three oboli they may receive four.* Cyrus was pleaſed with this generous anſwer, and made him a preſent of ten thouſand pieces of gold. Lyſander employed this ſum to increaſe the wages of the ſailors, and by this encouragement, in a ſhort time, almoſt emptied the enemy's fleet; for many of the men were glad to go over to that party where the moſt mo-

ney was to be had; and thoſe few that ſtaid behind, behaved with great indifference to their officers, and often mutinied. Though he had thus drained and weakened his adverſaries, he durſt not engage them, becauſe Alcibiades, who was their admiral, had the advantage of him in the number of ſhips, was more experienced, and had been always ſucceſsful in whatever enterpriſe he undertook either by ſea or land.

Alcibiades having occaſion to go from Samos to Phocæa, left the fleet under the command of Antiochus, who, to inſult and provoke Lyſander, ſailed with two galleys into the harbour at Epheſus, and impudently paſſed by his fleet with a great deal of noiſe and laughter. Lyſander reſented this open affront, and with two or three ſhips immediately purſued him; but when he ſaw freſh ſupplies come to the relief of Antiochus, he called up more to his aſſiſtance, and in a little time the whole fleet was engaged. Lyſander got the victory, took fifteen ſhips, and ſet up a trophy. The people of Athens were highly diſpleaſed at Alcibiades, and turned him out of their ſervice; who being now very much ſlighted and cenſured by the ſoldiers in Samos, left the army, and withdrew into the Thracian Cherſoneſus. This fight, though not conſiderable in itſelf, was made ſo by the misfortune of Alcibiades.

Lyſander, having collected from various cities a number of reſolute and ambitious men, ſent them to Epheſus, with inſtructions to form themſelves into companies, and apply themſelves to policy and buſineſs, upon promiſe, that as ſoon as the Athenian government was broken, their democracy ſhould be diſſolved, and they ſhould be governors in their reſpective cities. By this contrivance he ſecretly made way for the appointment of Decemviri, and all the other innovations which afterwards ſucceeded in thoſe cities: for he kept his word

word with his friends; and thoſe who had been of ſervice to him, he promoted to the higheſt honours and preferments, by which he in a manner made himſelf an accomplice with them in all their injuſtice and oppreſſion. So that every one endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with Lyſander; to him only people made their court, promiſing themſelves all that was great or honourable, while the chief power of the republic was lodged in him. Wherefore as ſoon as he left them, they were very uneaſy under his ſucceſſor Callicratidas; for though his actions ſhowed him to be the beſt and moſt upright of men, yet the people were diſcontented with his conduct, which ſavoured too much of what they called *Doric* plainneſs and ſincerity *. It is true, they admired his virtue as men do the beauty of ſome hero's ſtatue, but their deſires all this while were bent upon Lyſander, the loſs of whoſe favour and benevolence they were ſo ſenſible of, that ſome of them when he departed expreſſed their concern with tears. Nay, he drew off their affections yet more from Callicratidas; for he ſent back to Cyrus the reſidue of that money he had received from him for the ſoldiers pay, and ſaid, *Let Callicratidas aſk for it himſelf if he pleaſes, and let him contrive as well as he can to ſupport his army.* And when he was going to ſet ſail, he ſaid to him, *I have reſigned that fleet to you which commands the whole ocean.* This arrogant empty boaſt, Callicratidas thus reproved, *If it be ſo, ſteer with the fleet to the left, and paſſing by the Athenian navy at Samos, meet me at Miletus, and*

* Plutarch in this place compares Callicratidas's government to the Doric muſic, which was maſculine, having nothing ſoft and effeminate on the one hand, nor forced and vehement on the other. For this reaſon Socrates preferred it to all other muſic, and ays in the Laches, that that alone deſerved the name of Greek harmony. And Ariſtotle in the laſt chapter of his politics tells us, that every one allowed the Doric mood to be compoſed and manly, and that it was a mean between all the other moods, and was for that reaſon the fitteſt to be learned by children.

there

there reſign your command. For if it be that victorious fleet you repreſent it, you have nothing to fear from the enemy in your paſſage. *No,* replied Lyſander, *I have done with it now, it is wholly under your conduct*; and when he had ſaid this, he immediately ſet ſail for Peloponneſus.

Callicratidas was left in great perplexity; for he had brought no money from home with him, neither could he raiſe any; for the people had been too much oppreſſed already, to endure another tax. The only reſource he had was to beg ſupplies, as Lyſander had done, from the lieutenants of the king of Perſia. And he was the moſt unqualified of any man for this employ; for he was of ſo noble and generous a ſpirit, that he could ſooner brook ſlavery under a Grecian enemy, than bring himſelf to flatter and careſs a Barbarian, who had nothing to value himſelf upon but his gold. However neceſſity forced him to Lydia; and when he came to Cyrus's palace, he bid one of the attendants tell him, that Callicratidas the Spartan admiral was come to wait upon him. The ſervant replied, *He is not at leiſure now, he is drinking.* Callicratidas anſwered with great ſimplicity, *It is very well; I will ſtay till he has done.* The Lydians upon this anſwer took him for a man void of ſenſe and education. Therefore ſeeing himſelf laughed at, and ſlighted by the Barbarians, he withdrew a while; but upon his return not gaining admiſſion, he reſented it ſo highly, that he went immediately to Epheſus, reflecting with indignation upon thoſe who firſt cringed to the Barbarians, and encouraged them to be proud, only becauſe they were rich; and he proteſted to ſome of his friends, that as ſoon as he arrived at Sparta, he would make it his buſineſs to reconcile the differences among the Greeks, render them formidable to the Barbarians, and prevent them from ever accepting aſſiſtance from their hands againſt one another. Theſe reſolutions

ſolutions of Callicratidas were indeed worthy of a Spartan; for in virtue and bravery he was not inferior to the greateſt of the Grecians; but he died ſoon after at the battle of Arginuſa, where he was defeated.

The affairs of the confederates being now in a declining condition, they ſent an embaſſy to Sparta to deſire that Lyſander might be choſen admiral, expreſſing very earneſtly the great confidence they had of ſucceſs under his conduct. Cyrus too diſpatched letters thither to the ſame effect. There was a law among the Lacedæmonians that obliged them never to confer that command twice upon the ſame perſon; yet, being deſirous to gratify their allies, they gave one Aracus the title, but Lyſander the power. This gave great ſatisfaction to the moſt powerful men in the ſeveral cities: for he had long ſince raiſed their expectations, and given them hopes, that the democracy ſhould ſoon be aboliſhed, and the whole government devolve upon them.

Whoever takes an impartial view of theſe two generals, will find in Callicratidas an open and ſincere carriage, in Lyſander craft and cunning, for he owed moſt of his ſucceſs in war to artifice, and never ſcrupled to prefer intereſt to honeſty; he thought nature had fixed no difference between truth and falſehood, and ſo made advantage the meaſure of both. When he was told, it was below the character of one deſcended from Hercules, to rely upon ſtratagems in war, he turned it off with a jeſt, and ſaid, *When the lion's ſtrength fails, we muſt take in the fox's ſubtilty.* He gave a remarkable inſtance of this diſpoſition at Miletus. For when his friends whom he had promiſed to help in ſubverting the government and ruining their adverſaries, had changed their opinions, and come to an agreement with the contrary party, he pretended openly to be much pleaſed with their proceedings,

and

and to favour the reconciliation; but in private he reproached and upbraided them, and inſtigated them to make an attack upon the people; and as ſoon as they had raiſed a tumult, he himſelf came up to the head of them, and in the hearing of the people gave them a ſevere reprimand, and threatened to puniſh them; and then addreſſing himſelf to thoſe of the contrary party, bid them not be afraid of any danger while he was preſent. This treacherous management encouraged thoſe who were moſt zealous for a popular government to ſtay in the city, where they were all killed juſt as he had deſigned. Androclides mentions an expreſſion of his which ſhows that he had little regard to an oath, for he ſaid, *that children were to be cheated with playthings, and men with oaths.* In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it is inexcuſable in a general to imitate a tyrant, and very diſagreeable to the character of a Spartan to uſe his gods even more contemptuouſly than he does his enemies; for he that over-reaches his adverſary by a falſe oath, declares that he fears him, and deſpiſes the gods.

Cyrus having ſent for Lyſander to Sardis, furniſhed him with a large ſum of money upon the ſpot, and promiſed him a great deal more, aſſuring him, that if his father ſhould refuſe to advance any, he would plentifully ſupply him out of his own fortune, rather than he ſhould want; and when every thing elſe failed, he would melt down the throne, on which he ſat to execute juſtice, which was all of maſſy gold, and ſilver. And before he left Sardis to attend his father in Media, he aſſigned him all the cuſtoms and revenues of the cities, intruſted him with the government of his province, and taking him in his arms, conjured him not to engage with the Athenians till his return, promiſing to bring with him a powerful fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

When

When the prince was gone, Lyſander thought he had too few ſhips to encounter the enemy with, and too many to lie ſtill; he therefore cruiſed about ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, and ſurpriſed Ægina, and Salamin; from whence he ſteered his courſe to Attica, where he waited upon Agis, who was come down from Decelea to the coaſt. This gave Lyſander an opportunity of ſhowing the land-forces what a powerful navy he had, which made him maſter of the ſea, and enabled him to ſail where-ever he pleaſed. But hearing that the Athenians purſued him, he changed his courſe, and paſſed through the iſlands towards Aſia, and finding the Helleſpont open without any guard, he attacked Lampſacus by ſea, whilſt Thorax at the ſame time beſieged it by land; and as ſoon as the town was ſtormed, he gave his ſoldiers the plunder of it. In the mean while the Athenian fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and eighty ſail, were arrived at Elæus, a city of Cherſoneſus, but having intelligence that Lampſacus was taken, they immediately ſailed to Seſtos; whence, after they had taken in proviſions, they went to Ægos Potamos, where they were juſt oppoſite to the enemy, who ſtill lay at anchor near Lampſacus. Amongſt the Athenian commanders Philocles was one, the ſame who once perſuaded the people to make an order to cut off the right thumb of every priſoner taken in war, that he might be diſabled from managing any weapon, and yet be ſerviceable to them in handling the oar. The two navies were now in ſight, and every body expected an engagement the next morning; but Lyſander had quite other deſigns; he commanded all the ſeamen to go on board, as if they were to fight by break of day, and gave them a ſtrict charge to be in readineſs upon the firſt ſignal; he gave the ſame orders to the land-forces who lay upon the ſhore. About ſun-riſing the Athenian fleet drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians,

and

and gave the challenge; but Lyſander, though his ſhips had had all their complement aboard the whole night, and ſtood facing the enemy, would not accept of it, but on the contrary ſent orders by his pinnaces to thoſe ſhips which were in the van not to ſtir, but remain in the ſame poſture without making the leaſt motion.

Towards the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not ſuffer one man to land till two or three galleys that he had ſent to look out were returned, and had reported that they ſaw the enemy diſembark. The ſame thing was practiſed the next day, and for three or four days together. This made the Athenians very confident, and preſumptuous; they looked on their enemies with contempt, as a parcel of cowards who durſt not quit their ſtation.

During theſe tranſactions Alcibiades who was then in Cherſoneſus and poſſeſſed ſome fortified places there, came on horſeback to the camp of the Athenians, and ſhowed to their generals two material overſights. The firſt was, that they had ſtationed their ſhips near a naked ſhore, without cover, or ſhelter; the other, that they were at too great a diſtance from Seſtos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their proviſions; he repreſented to them that their only way was to ſail thither without loſs of time, and to remove to a greater diſtance from the enemy, whoſe army being under the command of a ſingle general, was ſo obedient, and ſo well diſciplined, that at the firſt ſignal they were prepared to put his orders in execution. The Athenian generals ſlighted theſe repreſentations of Alcibiades; on the contrary Tydeus, who was one of them, told him in a contumelious manner, *He was not general, but the power was in other hands.* Alcibiades from this anſwer ſuſpecting ſome treachery, retired.

When he was gone, they offered battle as they had

had done ſeveral times before, but to no purpoſe; Lyſander, when he ſaw them returning diſdainfully and negligently, diſpatched ſome light veſſels to obſerve their motion, and ordered the captains, as ſoon as ever they ſaw the Athenians land, to row back, and when they were come half way, to lift up a brazen ſhield at the head of each ſhip, upon which ſignal he would immediately make up to them. He then gave orders to the officers in the fleet diligently to look after the ſoldiers and mariners, and take care they ſhould be all ready to run in briſkly upon the enemy, at the firſt ſight of the ſhield. As ſoon as the ſignal appeared, the trumpet from the admiral's galley ſounded to battle, the ſhips ſet ſail, and the landmen marched up along the ſhore to the promontory. The diſtance between the two continents was fifteen furlongs; but the ſeamen were ſo eager and induſtrious, that they ſoon reached the oppoſite ſhore. Conon the general of the Athenians was the firſt that deſcried them, and made what haſte he could to get his ſoldiers on board. He was very ſenſible of the danger wherewith they were threatened; wherefore ſome he commanded, ſome he perſuaded, and others he forced into the ſhips; but all his endeavours were in vain; his men, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any ſurpriſe, were diſperſed; ſome were walking in the fields, ſome were aſleep in their tents, ſome were at dinner, and ſome were gone to market. All this was owing to the inexperience of the commanders, who neither apprehended nor provided againſt any danger. When the noiſe and cries of the Lacedæmonians drew very near, and they were juſt ready to attack them, Conon made his eſcape with eight ſhips to Evagoras King of Cyprus. The Peloponneſians fell upon thoſe that remained, took all that were empty, and attacked and diſabled thoſe in which the Athenians were embarking. Thoſe ſoldiers that came to the re-

lief of the navy being in great confuſion and unarmed, were ſlain in the attempt. Thoſe who thought to make their eſcape by flight, were purſued and taken. Lyſander took three thouſand priſoners with their commanders, and ſeized the whole fleet, except the ſacred galley called *Paralus*, and thoſe few ſhips that conveyed Conon to Evagoras. When he had faſtened the captive ſhips to his own, and plundered the enemies camp, he returned to Lampſacus, attended with the ſound of flutes and ſongs of triumph; having performed a great exploit with little labour, and having in one hour, and merely by his own ſkill and conduct, put an end to a long and tedious war, which had been ſo diverſified beyond all others with an incredible variety of events, had occaſioned ſo many battles, appeared in ſuch different forms, produced ſuch viciſſitudes of fortune, and deſtroyed more generals than all the wars in which Greece had ever been engaged. Many therefore imagined that it was the effect of a divine interpoſition. Some ſaid that the ſtars of Caſtor and Pollux appeared on each ſide the helm of Lyſander's ſhip, when he ſailed out of the harbour againſt the Athenians. Others fancied that a ſtone, which, according to the common opinion, fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. This ſtone was of a vaſt bigneſs, and fell near Ægos Potamos. The inhabitants of the Cherſoneſus hold it in great veneration, and ſhow it to this day. It is ſaid that Anaxagoras had foretold that one of thoſe bodies which are fixed to the vault of heaven, ſhould one day be looſened by a violent ſhock or convulſion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth *. For he taught that the ſtars are not now in the ſame places

* This battle was fought the fourth year of the ninety-third Olympiad, four hundred and three years before the incarnation. And it is pretended that Anaxagoras had delivered this prediction the ſecond year of the ſeventy-eighth Olympiad, ſixty-two years before this battle. *Plin.* xi. 58.

where

where they were firſt formed; that they are of a ſtony ſubſtance, and heavy, and that the light they give is the effect of the action of the æther; that they are carried along by the rapid motions of the heavens; which, from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were ſeparated from the other ſubſtances, hindered them from falling back to the centre.

But ſome philoſophers maintain an opinion more likely and credible than that of Anaxagoras. They hold, that the ſtars which are ſeen to fall, are not the emanations of the elementary fire, which go out the very moment they are kindled; nor yet a blaze, or inflammation of a quantity of air burſting out from under a too cloſe compreſſion in the upper region; but that they really are ſome of thoſe heavenly bodies, which from a momentary relaxation of the rapidity of the motion, or by ſome irregular concuſſion, are looſened and fall to the earth, not always upon places inhabited, but generally into the ocean, which is the reaſon we do not ſee them.

However, this opinion of Anaxagoras is confirmed by the teſtimony of Damachus *, who in his treatiſe of religion tells us, that for ſeventy-five days together before the fall of that ſtone, there was ſeen in the heavens a large body of fire, not fixed and immoveable, but like an inflamed cloud agitated this way and that by contrary and irregular motions, but ſo rapid that with the violence thereof ſeveral fiery fragments were forced from it, impelled ſome one way and ſome another, darting like lightning, or ſo many falling ſtars. As ſoon as this body fell upon the earth, and the inhabitants

* Inſtead of Damachus, Voſſius and others have with good reaſon put Daimachus. This Daimachus was of Platææ, and wrote *a hiſtory of India*, and *a treatiſe of military machines*. The teſtimony of this writer does not make much for Anaxagoras; for he not only ſtuffed his writings with a great many fables, but was likewiſe very ignorant in the mathematics, as he is charged by Strabo in his firſt book.

recovered from their fright had ventured to approach it, they could find no inflammable matter, or the leaſt ſign of fire, but a real ſtone, which though of an extraordinary ſize, yet was nothing in compariſon of that fiery body which appeared at firſt, but ſeemed no more than a bit as it were crumbled from it. But they muſt have a good opinion of the veracity of Damachus, who can believe this account. If it be true, it overthrows the aſſertion of thoſe who tell us that this ſtone was a great rock rent from the top of ſome mountain, and borne for ſome time through the air by the violence of the wind, and that it ſettled in the firſt place where that force and violence began to abate. But why may we not conclude that that which appeared for ſo many days together was really a globe of fire, and that when it was extinguiſhed and diſſipated, it produced a thorough change in the air, and raiſed ſuch a violent ſtorm or whirlwind as to force this ſtone from its native ſtation, and carry it to the place where it afterwards ſettled? But theſe are ſubjects proper for writings of another nature.

When the three thouſand Athenians, who had been taken priſoners were condemned by the council, Lyſander called Philocles one of the Athenian generals, and aſked him what puniſhment he thought that man deſerved, who adviſed his citizens to proceed ſo ſeverely againſt the Grecians *? Philocles, not at all daunted in his adverſity, replied, *Do not bring an accuſation againſt thoſe who have no judge; but ſince you are conqueror, uſe us as we ſhould have uſed you, if you had been conquered.* After this he bathed himſelf, put on a rich robe, and led on his countrymen to execution, as we are told by Theophraſtus.

Lyſander then viſited all the neighbouring cities, and commanded all the Athenians he found, upon

* Meaning the propoſal of Philocles mentioned, p. 203.

pain

pain of death, to repair to Athens. His deſign was, that the city being thus thronged might ſoon be reduced to famine, and be glad to ſurrender at diſcretion, as ſoon as he opened the ſiege. Whereever he came he changed the preſent government of the place, and put in a Lacedæmonian as chief, with ten other aſſiſtants. Thus he dealt not only with his enemies, but his allies, and by this means in a manner ingroſſed to himſelf the whole empire of Greece. He did not employ the nobility or the wealthy citizens in any part of the government, but put it into the hands of his friends, and of thoſe ſocieties he had before eſtabliſhed, and intruſted them with full power of life and death. Many were executed whilſt he was preſent, and he aſſiſted his friends in baniſhing others who were of the contrary party. This conduct gave the Greeks an ill opinion of the Lacedæmonian government. So that Theopompus the comic poet was groſsly miſtaken when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who, when they have for ſome time entertained their cuſtomers with good wine, afterwards give them that which is ſour; for in this caſe the draught was ſour and unpalatable from the beginning; Lyſander having deprived the cities of the management of their own affairs, and committed the government to a ſmall number, and thoſe the moſt inſolent and turbulent of the people.

Having ſettled theſe affairs in a ſhort time, and diſpatched meſſengers to tell the Lacedæmonians, that he was returning to them with two hundred ſhips, he went to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pauſanias, and ſeemed to expect the immediate ſurrender of the city. But when he found that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he returned into Aſia, and made the ſame alteration in other cities as he had done in thoſe we mentioned before, putting ſome to death who did not ſubmit to his tyranny, and forcing others to quit their

country. He expelled all the natural inhabitants of Samos, and gave the exiles poſſeſſion of the city. He uſed the ſame barbarity to the inhabitants of Seſtos, which was then in the hands of the Athenians, and divided both the city and territory among his ſeamen. The Lacedæmonians were diſpleaſed at theſe proceedings, and re-eſtabliſhed the Seſtians. But in all other reſpects the Greeians were well ſatisfied with Lyſander's conduct; for by his means the Æginetæ were reſtored to their own cities, of which they had been long diſpoſſeſſed; the Athenians were alſo driven out of the cities of the Melians and Scionians, which were reſtored to the former inhabitants. By this time Lyſander had intelligence that there was a famine in Athens; upon which he ſailed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to ſurrender, and to ſubmit to whatever terms he demanded.

The Lacedæmonians ſay that Lyſander wrote to the magiſtrates thus, *Athens is taken*: to which they returned this anſwer, *If it is taken, that is ſufficient*. But this was a ſtory invented to preſerve an appearance of moderation in the Spartan government; for the decree of the Ephori was in theſe terms: *This is the decree of the Lacedæmonian magiſtrates; Pull down the Piræus, and the long wall; quit all the towns you are now poſſeſſed of, and keep yourſelves within your own territories; reſtore the fugitives, and pay ſuch contributions as ſhall be demanded; we grant you peace upon theſe conditions* *. *As for the number of ſhips you are to keep, you muſt obſerve the orders we ſhall give concerning it.* When theſe orders came to the Athenians,

* The Ephori thought they ſhould have the fugitives or exiles at their diſcretion, if they obliged them to return to Athens. Beſides, by this condition, which was unjuſt in itſelf, and which was not in the power of the Athenians to comply with, the Ephori had them always at their mercy, and upon a pretence that they had not performed this article of the treaty, might do them what manner of injuſtice they pleaſed.

they

they ſubmitted to them by the advice of Theramenes the ſon of Agnon: which made Cleomenes, one the young orators, aſk him why he acted contrary to the intention of Themiſtocles, and gave thoſe walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he had built in defiance of them. *Young man*, ſaid he, *I am not acting contrary to the ſentiments of Themiſtocles. He raiſed theſe walls for the preſervation of the city, and I for the very ſame reaſon would have them deſtroyed; and if walls alone ſecure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very bad condition.*

Lyſander, as ſoon as all the ſhips except twelve, and the fortifications of the Athenians were delivered into his hands, made his entrance into the city, on the ſixteenth of Munychion [April], the very day on which they had formerly overthrown the Barbarians in the naval fight near Salamin. He began immediately to attempt an alteration in the government; but finding the people more ſtubborn than he expected, he by his meſſengers gave them to underſtand, *that they had violated the capitulations; that the walls were yet ſtanding, though the time preſcribed for the demoliſhing of them was expired; and now ſince they had broke their firſt articles, he declared that the conſideration of the whole ſhould be reaſſumed in the council, and new terms ſhould be made.* And it is reported that he did really propoſe in a council of the allies, that the Athenians ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery; and that a Theban commander called *Erianthus*, at the ſame time perſuaded them to raze the city, and turn the country into paſture-ground for the grazing of cattle.

Afterwards, however, when all the general officers were met together at an entertainment, a muſician of Phocis began to ſing thoſe lines out of the Electra of Euripides, which begin thus,

Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides,
Thy lowly habitation I approach.

This

This touched them all on a ſudden with a ſenſe of compaſſion, and gave them occaſion to reflect, how barbarous it would appear to lay that city in ruins, which had been renowned for the birth and education of ſo many famous men. However, Lyſander finding the Athenians entirely at his diſcretion, ſent for a number of muſicians out of the city, and having joined them with thoſe belonging to the camp, he pulled down the walls, and burned the ſhips, to the ſound of their inſtruments; at which his aſſociates dancing, and crowned with garlands, expreſſed as much joy as if that day had been the beginning of their liberty. After this, he altered their government, appointed thirty rulers over the city, and ten over the Piræus, placed a ſtrong garriſon in the citadel, and made Callibius, a Spartan, the governour, who upon ſome occaſion offered to ſtrike Autolycus (a famous wreſtler, the ſame whom Xenophon mentions in his Sympoſiacs), who ſeizing him by the legs threw him upon the ground. Lyſander did not reſent this; on the contrary, he reproved Callibius, telling him *he was to conſider that they were free men, not ſlaves, over whom he had the government.* But ſoon after, the thirty tyrants, to pleaſe Callibius, put Autolycus to death.

Lyſander, when he had ſettled theſe affairs, ſailed to Thrace *. All the money and preſents which he

* Plutarch ſhould have mentioned in this place the conqueſt of the iſland of Thaſos, and the behaviour of Lyſander there. Among the Thaſians there were many who were friends to the Athenians, and who hid themſelves for fear, when Lyſander had made himſelf maſter of the place. Having aſſembled the people in the temple of Hercules, he addreſſed them with great mildneſs, and told them that thoſe who had abſconded on this occaſion were excuſeable, and that they might be aſſured they would receive no injury from him; and that his promiſe might be certainly depended upon, ſince he made it in the city and temple of Hercules his progenitor. Upon this aſſurance, all who had concealed themſelves appeared again in public; but a few days after, when they thought they were quite ſecure, he ordered them all to be ſeized and put to death. This is related by Polyænus, l. 1. c. 45.

Plutarch

he had received (which probably were very conſiderable, as his power was ſo great, and he was, in a manner, the ſovereign of all Greece) he ſent to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had been commander of the troops in Sicily. Gylippus cut open the bottom of every bag, and when he had taken a large ſum out of each, ſewed them up again; but he was not aware, that in every bag there was a bill that gave a particular account of the ſum it contained. When he came to Sparta, having firſt hid under the tiles of his houſe what he had taken for his own uſe, he delivered up the bags to the magiſtrates, and ſhowed them the ſeals. When they examined the money, and found it fall ſhort of the accounts expreſſed in the bills, they were ſurpriſed at the difference; but Gylippus's ſervant betrayed the ſecret, and told them by way of riddle, *that he had obſerved a great many owls to rooſt in the Ceramicus* *. For moſt of the coin then bore the impreſſion of an owl in reſpect to the Athenians. Gylippus having loſt his former high reputation with this mean action, was aſhamed to appear any more at Lacedæmon.

Some of the wiſeſt among the Spartans, probably upon this occaſion, being ſenſible what an ill influence money had over moſt mens manners, and how eaſily the beſt were corrupted by it, were very warm in their reflections upon Lyſander, and earneſtly preſſed the magiſtrates to ſend away all their treaſure of gold and ſilver, as a deſtructive evil, though it was alluring. This debate was referred to a council, and a decree was propoſed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or, according to Ephorus, by Phlogidas, *That no money, whether of*

Plutarch tells us afterwards, that he behaved in this manner to the Mileſians. Perhaps the ſtory may be the ſame, and a miſtake may have been made in the name of the people.

* Ceramicus was the name of a place in Athens. It likewiſe ſignified the roof of a houſe.

gold

gold or ſilver, ſhould be received in Sparta, and that none ſhould paſs but the current coin of the country. This coin was of iron dipped in vinegar whilſt it was red hot, to make it hard and unmalleable, ſo that it might not be applied to any other uſe. It was beſides very heavy, and that which was much in weight, was but little in value, ſo that it was very troubleſome to carry any conſiderable ſum. And it is probable that anciently all money was of this kind, and conſiſted of pieces of iron or braſs, which from their form were called *obeliſci*; whence a certain quantity of ſmall pieces of money was called an *obolus*, which name is ſtill retained, and ſix oboli were called a *drachma* or *handful*, that ſum being as much as the hand could contain. This party that voted againſt keeping the money was overpowered by Lyſander's friends; and at laſt it was decreed, that it ſhould be employed upon public occaſions, and that it ſhould be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uſes. But this did not at all anſwer Lycurgus's deſign, who by a ſcarcity of money intended to prevent covetouſneſs, which is generally the ill conſequence of riches. Now, this was not ſo much prevented by forbidding the uſe of money in private, as it was encouraged by allowing it in public; for what is uſeful will be valued and admired. And it could not be imagined, that if it was honoured in public, it would be deſpiſed in private, or that thoſe who ſaw that wealth was ſo advantageous to the ſtate, ſhould think it of no concern to themſelves. Nay, it is much more reaſonable to conclude, that the common cuſtom of a nation ſhould influence particular men, than that the whole nation ſhould be corrupted by the actions of ſome few; for if the whole is diſtempered, the parts alſo muſt be affected; but if the diſorder ſubſiſts only in particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by thoſe which have not yet received the infection. So that this decree, though by the

puniſhment

puniſhment which it threatened, it prevented men from treaſuring up money, yet did not prevent, but rather increaſed their deſire of it, and taught them to look upon it as a thing highly valuable and excellent. But theſe things I have already mentioned in another place *.

Lyſander, out of the plunder which he took, erected his own, and ſeveral of the chief commanders ſtatues in braſs at Delphi, and cauſed two ſtars to be made of gold, repreſenting Caſtor and Pollux, in the room of thoſe which diſappeared ſome time before the battle of Leuctra †. The galley Cyrus ſent him when he congratulated him upon his victory, which was of gold and ivory, and two cubits in length ‡, was placed in the treaſury of Braſidas, and the Acanthians; and Alexandrides of Delphi ‖ in his hiſtory, ſays, that Lyſander depoſited there a talent of ſilver, fifty-two minæ, and eleven ſtaters of his own money; but this is not agreeable to the accounts given of his poverty by all hiſtorians.

It muſt be owned, that never any Lacedæmonian general had ſo abſolute an authority as Lyſander, yet his pride and haughtineſs of ſpirit ſtill carried him beyond it; for, as Duris ſays ⸸, he was the firſt of the Grecians to whom altars were erected, and ſacrifices offered as to a god. He was the firſt that was complimented with ſongs of triumph, one of which began thus,

* See the life of Lycurgus.

† They were ſtolen away. Plutarch mentions it here as an ill omen, foreboding the defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra.

‡ Theſe ſorts of preſents were much in uſe among the ancients. Thus Ariſtobulus preſented Pompey with a golden vineyard, or garden, valued at five hundred talents. A galley of gold and ivory was a very proper congratulatory preſent for a naval victory. The galley was conſecrated in the temple at Delphi, and the vineyard in that of Jupiter Olympius.

‖ This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote a book, entitled, *The offerings ſtolen from the temple at Delphi.*

⸸ This was related at large in a book written by Duris, *concerning the Samian borders*; as we learn from Athenæus, *lib.* xi.

To

To the brave leader of our hands
Begin the ſong, which gods inſpire;
With tuneful voice, and artful hands:
Io Pæan! touch the lyre!

And the Samians decreed, that the feaſts which were celebrated in the honour of Juno, ſhould now be transferred to Lyſander. Chœrilus * a poet was always one of his retinue, and ready upon all occaſions to celebrate his actions. Antilochus preſented him with a panegyric in verſe, with which he was ſo much pleaſed that he gave him his cap full of ſilver. There was a great emulation between Antimachus of Colophon †, and Niceratus of Heraclea, who ſhould write the beſt poem in Lyſander's praiſe. The laurel was given to Niceratus; which Antimachus taking ill, ſuppreſſed his verſes. Plato, who was then a young man, and an admirer of Antimachus's poetry, deſired him to bear this misfortune with more courage, telling him, *that ignorance had the ſame effect upon the intellectual eye, as blindneſs had upon the corporeal.* Ariſtonous, the muſician, who had ſix times won the prize in the Pythian games, openly declared, *that if ever he had the fortune to be conqueror once more, he would declare himſelf Lyſander's diſciple, or even his ſlave.*

The ambition of Lyſander was troubleſome only to the great, and thoſe of equal rank with himſelf; but that arrogance, and that violence of temper which attended it, and which were fomented by the

* There muſt have been three poets of this name. The firſt of Samos, who celebrated in verſe the victory gained by the Athenians over Xerxes, about the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad. The ſecond was this Chœrilus of Sparta, who attended Lyſander, and lived about ſeventy years after the firſt. The laſt was the Chœrilus who attended Alexander, andwho flouriſhed upwards of ſeventy years after this battle gained by Lyſander.

† This Antimachus, according to others, was of Claros; but thoſe two cities were very near neighbours. He was in ſuch reputation that he was reckoned next to Homer in heroic poetry. However, his ſtyle was ſaid to be a litttle too verboſe and pompous.

flatteries

flatteries of thoſe who paid their court to him, had a more extenſive influence; ſo that he was immoderate in the expreſſions both of his favour and reſentment. The governments of cities, with an unlimited and tyrannical power, were the rewards which he beſtowed on his friends; and nothing but the death of thoſe who had offended him, was ſufficient to gratify his anger. This appears from his behaviour to the Mileſians. Thoſe among them who had been zealous in maintaining the rights of the people, concealed themſelves for fear of his reſentment; and he being afraid they might ſecure themſelves by flight, ſolemnly ſwore, not a man of them ſhould ſuffer. They relying upon his word appeared again in public; upon which he delivered them up to thoſe of the oppoſite party, and they were all put to death, to the number of eight hundred. In every city he exerciſed cruelties of this nature, and no man could be ſafe who was ſuſpected of any inclination to popular government. He did not only ſacrifice men to his own private caprices, but, with the ſame barbarity, gratified either the malice or covetouſneſs of his friends. From whence that ſaying of the Lacedæmonian Eteocles became famous; *That Greece could never bear two Lyſanders.* Theophraſtus tells us, that Archeſtratus ſaid the ſame thing of Alcibiades; but this was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſo applicable to him. He was indeed vain, inſolent, and luxurious, which made him diſagreeable; but the ſourneſs and cruelty of Lyſander's temper made him inſupportable.

Though the Lacedæmonians paid little regard in general to the complaints that were made againſt him; yet when Pharnabazus, whoſe province had been plundered and laid waſte by him, ſent informers againſt him to Sparta, the magiſtrates took this complaint into conſideration, and put to death Thorax one of his friends and colleagues, who againſt the late law was found with ſilver in his poſſeſſion;

neither were they ſatisfied with puniſhing his accomplices, but commanded him home by their Scytale; the nature and uſe of which was this. When the magiſtrates gave their commiſſion to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in length and thickneſs, one they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to their officer. Theſe pieces of wood were called *Scytalæ*; and when they had any thing of moment which they would ſecretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow ſcroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own ſtaff, one fold cloſe to another, they wrote their buſineſs on it; then they took off the parchment, and ſent it to the general; he applied it to his own ſtaff, which being juſt like that of the magiſtrates, the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing, and the characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were totally disjoined, and altogether unintelligible, appeared now very plainly.

Lyſander, who was then in the Helleſpont, was ſtartled at the Scytale, and being moſt of all afraid of the accuſation of Pharnabazus, endeavoured to have a conference with him as ſoon as poſſible, hoping by a little diſcourſe to compoſe all differences between them. When they met, he deſired him to give another information to the ſenate, and to contradict what his meſſengers had told them before; not knowing that (according to the proverb) he was *playing the Cretan with a Cretan*. For Pharnabazus, promiſing to comply with his requeſt, wrote a letter in his preſence according to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him, which was to a quite contrary effect; ſo when they came to ſeal the letter, he put that upon him which he had written privately, and which exactly reſembled the other. Lyſander returned to Lacedæmon; and attending the magiſtrates, according to cuſtom, at the palace, he delivered Pharnabazus's letter to them,

them, which he was well aſſured would take off his greateſt accuſation; for he knew Pharnabazus was much valued by the Lacedæmonians, as, of all the king of Perſia's generals, he aſſiſted them with the greateſt zeal during the late war. The magiſtrates having read the letter, ſhowed it to Lyſander, who found the proverb true, that *not Ulyſſes only is cunning*, and in great confuſion left the palace.

Some days after he went to the magiſtrates, and told them he was obliged to go to Ammon's temple, and offer that ſacrifice which he had vowed to him before the battle; and it is indeed reported, that Ammon appeared to him in a dream, when he beſieged the Aphytæans in Thrace; upon which, as the god had directed, he raiſed the ſiege, and bid the Aphytæans ſacrifice to Ammon; and for the ſame reaſon he haſtened to ſacrifice to the god at his temple in Libya. But it is generally believed, that this was only a pretence, and that the true occaſion of his retiring was his fear of the magiſtrates, and that he choſe rather to wander abroad than to be controlled at home; for his haughty ſpirit could not brook ſubmiſſion to any body; like an horſe, that after he has been free a great while, and ranged in open paſture, is very unwilling to be confined again to the ſtable, and ſubmit to his ordinary labour. Ephorus gives another account of his retiring, which I ſhall mention by and by. Whatever the occaſion was, he found it very difficult to obtain leave from the magiſtrates; and when they had given their conſent to his voyage, the kings of Sparta conſidering that moſt of the cities were in the poſſeſſion of his friends, that he conſequently muſt needs have a great ſway among them, and that this made him in effect maſter of all Greece, attempted to diſpoſſeſs them, and reſtore the government to the people.

Theſe proceedings raiſed every where new diſturbances; and firſt of all the Athenians having

poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Phyle *, took arms againſt the thirty tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this Lyſander returned in great haſte to Sparta, and perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to maintain the oligarchy which he had eſtabliſhed, and to repreſs the forwardneſs of the people. To this end they remitted an hundred talents to the thirty tyrants to enable them to continue the war, and declared Lyſander himſelf chief commander. But the two kings envying his greatneſs, and being afraid leſt he ſhould be maſter of Athens a ſecond time, reſolved that one of them ſhould be preſent in that expedition. Accordingly Pauſanias marched into Attica, in appearance to ſupport the tyrants againſt the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, and prevent Lyſander from having Athens, by means of his friends, once more at his mercy. This deſign he compaſſed very eaſily; for he brought the Athenians into a good underſtanding among themſelves, compoſed the tumults, and ſo put a check upon Lyſander's ambition. However, the Athenians revolting again ſoon after, the whole blame was charged upon Pauſanias. It was ſaid, that taking out of the people's mouth the curb of the oligarchy, he had by that means made them headſtrong, and encouraged them to grow inſolent and licentious. At the ſame time Lyſander obtained the reputation of an upright man, who never employed his arms either for the gratification of his friends, or his own fame, but purely for the glory of Sparta.

Lyſander's courage and ſpirit appeared in his expreſſions, no leſs than it did in his actions. Once when the Argives contended about their bounds, and thought they could make a better plea than the Lacedæmonians, he held out his ſword, and ſaid, *He that is maſter of this will beſt make out his title.* At

* A caſtle above Athens very ſtrongly ſituated. *Vid. Xenoph. lib.* 2. of his Grecian hiſtory.

another

another time when a Megarean ſpoke with great boldneſs in a converſation, he gave him this reprimand, *My friend, thoſe words of yours require a place of ſtrength and ſafety.* When the Bœotians ſtood wavering whether they ſhould engage on his ſide, or his enemies, he aſked them *whether they had rather be viſited in a friendly or hoſtile manner.* When the Corinthians had deſerted the league, he marched to Corinth at the head of his army, in order to aſſault it; but whilſt the Lacedæmonians heſitated, and ſeemed afraid to begin the attack, a hare happened to ſtart out of the trenches, whereupon he aſked them, *if they were not aſhamed to fear thoſe enemies, whoſe lazineſs was ſuch, that the very hares ſlept under their walls?*

After Agis's death *, Ageſilaus his brother, and Leotychides his ſuppoſed ſon, were the pretenders to the crown. Lyſander, who had been Ageſilaus's lover, perſuaded him to claim his right to the kingdom, as being legitimately deſcended from Hercules; whereas it was very much ſuſpected that Leotychides was the ſon of Alcibiades, who had been obſerved to be familiar with Agis's wife Timæa, during the time of his exile in Sparta; and Agis computing the time, concluded that he himſelf could not be the father, and therefore openly diſowned him; afterwards, however, when he fell ſick, and was carried to Herea, he was prevailed upon by the importunity of the youth himſelf, and of his friends, juſt before he died, to declare before many witneſſes, that Leotychides was his lawful ſon; and he deſired them to teſtify theſe his laſt words to the Lacedæmonians; which accordingly they did. Every body reſpected Ageſilaus as a very deſerving man, and Lyſander's intereſt and authority ſerved very much to ſtrengthen his party, ſo

* Xenophon, *lib.* 11. tells us, that Agis fell ſick at Herea, a city of Arcadia, whither he was come in his return from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta where he died.

that he began to think he could not fail, when Diophites, a greater dealer in prophecies, oppoſed him on account of his lameneſs, and for that purpoſe cited the following oracle.

Though proud, O Sparta, yet beware
How thou obey'ſt a limping heir!
War and diſcord without end,
Shall on that luckleſs hour attend;
Every labour, every fate,
That can waſte or ſink a ſtate.

Many believed the intepretation, and began to favour Leotychides's party. But Lyſander ſaid, that Diophites had miſtaken the ſenſe of the oracle, that it was not meant that the Lacedæmonians would be unhappy under a lame king, but that they would be a lame people if they ſuffered the poſterity of Hercules to be governed by illegitimate princes. Having thus put a plauſible conſtruction upon the words of the oracle, and being otherwiſe one that had a great intereſt among the people, he prevailed with them to make choice of Ageſilaus. As ſoon as he was ſettled in his kingdom, Lyſander preſſed him very earneſtly to make war upon Aſia, putting him in hopes of raiſing himſelf to a great reputation by the conqueſt of Perſia. To further this deſign he writ to his friends in Aſia, and deſired they would petition the Lacedæmonians to give the command of their forces againſt the Barbarians to Ageſilaus. They complied with his requeſt, and ſent ambaſſadors to Lacedæmon for that purpoſe.

Ageſilaus thought himſelf no leſs obliged to Lyſander for this favour, than he had been before for his kingdom. But ambitious ſpirits, however otherwiſe qualified for government, are hindered in their way to glory by that envy which they generally bear to their equals; and thus they make thoſe their adverſaries, who would otherwiſe be their partners and aſſiſtants in their heroic actions. Thus

Ageſilaus

Ageſilaus at firſt choſe Lyſander for his particular favourite, made him one of his council, and conſulted him upon all affairs of moment; but when they came into Aſia, he having little acquaintance there, the people ſeldom addreſſed themſelves to him, but made their greateſt court to Lyſander, ſome upon the account of a former familiarity and friendſhip, others out of a ſervile compliance. Thus, as it often happens in plays, that a chief actor repreſents the part of a ſervant or a meſſenger, yet is much taken notice of, while he that perſonates the king is hardly heard to ſpeak, and is little regarded by the ſpectators; ſo here the counſellor had all that was really valuable in government, and left the king only the empty name of power. Indeed Lyſander ought to have moderated his ambition, and have been contented to act the ſecond part. On the other ſide, Ageſilaus was to be blamed for totally rejecting and diſgracing a friend he had been ſo much obliged to. For firſt of all he never gave him any opportunity of appearing with reputation, nor ever put him in any poſt of command; beſides, thoſe for whom Lyſander intereſted himſelf were ſure to miſcarry, and were leſs favoured than even the meaneſt and moſt inconſiderable perſons; thus all his influence and authority was gradually weakened and deſtroyed.

Lyſander finding that he was ſo unſucceſsful in every thing he undertook, and that what he deſigned as a kindneſs, was often prejudicial to his friends, deſired them to forbear their addreſſes, and take no public notice of him; but either to ſpeak to the king himſelf, or to thoſe favourites who had more power than he had at preſent to prefer them. Upon this, many gave him no further trouble with their concerns, but ſtill continued their reſpects to him, and waited upon him in all places of public reſort. This grieved Ageſilaus yet more, and aggravated his envy and jealouſy. Therefore to ſhow his reſentment,

ſentment, when he preferred even common ſoldiers to the higheſt poſts in the army, and made them governors of cities, he affronted Lyſander ſo far as to make him his carver; and then by way of deriſion, and to inſult the Ionians, he ſaid, *Let them now go, and make their court to my carver.* Lyſander upon this determined to ſpeak to the king. Their diſcourſe was very ſhort and laconic. *Indeed, Ageſilaus*, ſays Lyſander, *you know very well how to leſſen your friends. Yes*, ſays he, *when they affect to be greater than myſelf; and it is juſt they ſhould have the greateſt ſhare in my power who moſt endeavour to promote it.* Lyſander replied, *This is rather what you ſay, than what I ever did; but I beg of you, for the ſake of thoſe ſtrangers here, who have their eyes upon us, to allow me ſuch a poſt under you, wherein I may be leaſt ſuſpected, and moſt uſeful to you.* This favour was granted him, and he was ſent ambaſſador to the Helleſpont: and though he bore a ſecret grudge to the king, yet that did not hinder him from a very faithful diſcharge of his duty. He perſuaded Mithridates * the Perſian, who had fallen out with Pharnabazus, to revolt with all the army under his command, and brought him over to Ageſilaus: however he was not employed upon any other ſervice, but returned in diſgrace to Sparta, not only highly incenſed againſt Ageſilaus in particular, but diſpleaſed more than ever with the whole frame of the government.

He had long meditated a change in the conſtitution, and reſolved now to execute his deſign as ſoon as poſſible. His ſtratagem was this: The Heraclidæ who were mixed with the Dorians, had formerly ſettled in Peloponneſus, and their poſterity was very numerous and powerful in Sparta. Of theſe, two families only could claim any right to ſucceſſion in the kingdom; thoſe were the Eurytiontidæ

* He is called by Xenophon *Spithridates*; and ſo ſome manuſcripts read the name in the life of Ageſilaus, where he is mentioned again.

ontidæ and the Agiadæ *; the reſt, notwithſtanding their high extraction, had no ſhare in the government on account of their birth. For as to the common rewards of virtue, they were attainable by all men of diſtinguiſhed merit. Lyſander was one of this family, and having gained ſo great a reputation by his actions, having many friends, and much power, he was uneaſy to ſee that city which owed its increaſe chiefly to him, ruled by others no better deſcended than himſelf. He therefore was deſirous to alter the ſettlement which confined the government to two families only, and to give all the Heraclidæ an equal right to it; nay, ſome ſay, that he deſigned to extend this privilege not to the Heraclidæ only, but to all the Spartans, and to make it a reward not ſo much of Hercules's poſterity, as of thoſe who bravely imitated that valour which gave him a place among the gods. And he had great hopes that when the kingdom was thus to be diſpoſed of, no Spartan could appear with thoſe advantages that he could. Upon this proſpect firſt he endeavoured by himſelf to convince the citizens of the reaſonableneſs of this change, and learned by heart an oration which Cleon of Halicarnaſſus had made for him upon that ſubject. But when he perceived the difficulties of this undertaking, which was not to be effected by ordinary means, he had recourſe to extraordinary. For as in tragedies, when any thing of great importance is to be effected, the aſſiſtance of ſome god is made uſe of, ſo he to promote his deſigns had recourſe to oracles, being convinced that Cleon's eloquence would avail but little, unleſs he could firſt ſubdue and terrify the minds of the people by ſuperſtition. Ephorus ſays, that after he had in vain endeavour-

* See a further account of this. vol. i. p. 171. n. †. The deſcendents of Euryſthenes there mentioned, were afterwards called *Agidæ* or *Agiadæ*, from Agis the ſon of Euryſthenes; and the deſcendents of Procles *Eurytiontidæ*, from Eurytion the grandſon of Procles.

ed.

ed to corrupt the Pythian oracle, and as unſucceſsfully ſent Phericles to corrupt the prieſteſſes of Dodona, he went himſelf to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the prieſts large ſums of gold; but they with great indignation rejected his bribes, and ſent people to accuſe him at Sparta. He was, however, acquitted; upon which the Lybians took their leave of the Spartans in this manner; *When you come to live among us in Africa, you will find us more impartial judges.* For there was an ancient prophecy which foretold that the Lacedæmonians ſhould ſome time or other inhabit Africa. The whole ſtratagem of Lyſander requires a more diſtinct explication. For it was not an ordinary contrivance, nor built upon ſlight foundations, but deeply laid from the beginning, and carried on with conſummate art and addreſs; ſo that it may be compared to a mathematical demonſtration, in which from ſome principles firſt aſſumed, the concluſion is regularly deduced through a variety of abſtruſe and intricate arguments. I ſhall therefore at large explain it as it is related by Ephorus, a great hiſtorian as well as philoſopher.

There was a woman at Pontus who being with child, pretended Apollo was the father. Many with a great deal of reaſon ſuſpected it, others were ſo credulous as to believe it. Wherefore when ſhe came to be delivered of a ſon, ſeveral perſons of the greateſt quality in the country took peculiar care of its education, and for ſome reaſon or other gave it the name of *Silenus*. Lyſander taking hold of this occurrence, made it the ground of his whole ſtratagem, and choſe ſuch confidents to aſſiſt him in it, whoſe character might bring the ſtory into reputation without the leaſt ſuſpicion of forgery. To make the beſt advantage of this, they ſpread abroad among the Spartans another ſtory, *that there were very ancient oracles cloſely concealed in the cuſtody of the prieſts at Delphi, and it was upon record, that they were*

were not to be profaned by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for any man to read them, till in ſome future age one ſhould ariſe who could manifeſtly prove himſelf the ſon of Apollo, and challenge to himſelf the interpretation of theſe myſteries. When the credit of this report was eſtabliſhed among the people, Silenus was to come and demand the prerogative of his birth. Thoſe of the prieſts who were confederates in this plot, were ſtrictly to examine into every circumſtance of his nativity, and afterwards being fully convinced that he was the true ſon of Apollo, were to deliver up their charge to him: he then was to read in public all thoſe oracles, eſpecially that relating to the government of Sparta, for the ſake of which the whole plot had been contrived, and wherein it was to be declared, *that it would be more for the honour and intereſt of Sparta to break the preſent ſucceſſion, and for the future to chuſe their kings out of the moſt deſerving men in the commonwealth.* But when Silenus was grown up, and every thing ready for action, the whole buſineſs miſcarried by the cowardice of one that was an agent in it, whoſe heart failed him juſt at the time of execution. However nothing of this was diſcovered while Lyſander lived.

He died before Ageſilaus returned out of Aſia, after having embarked his country in a war againſt the Bœotians, or rather involved all Greece in it; for the thing is related both ways, ſome laying the blame upon him, others upon the Thebans; and others charge them both with it *. To the Thebans it is objected, that they overturned the altar,

* Xenophon gives a full account of this in the third book of his Grecian hiſtory. He ſays the Lacedæmonians gladly laid hold of the firſt opportunity of taking arms againſt the Thebans, with whom they had been long offended; becauſe they had claimed to themſelves a tenth of the treaſure taken at Decelea, had refuſed to attend them in their expedition againſt the Piræus, and diſſuaded the Corinthians from joining them; and laſtly, becauſe they hindered Ageſilaus from ſacrificing at Aulis, overturned the altar, profaned the ſacrifices, and refuſed to follow him into Aſia.

and

and profaned the ſacrifice Ageſilaus was offering in the town of Aulis, and that * Androclidas and Amphitheus having been corrupted by the king of Perſia, they attacked the † Phocians, and laid waſte their country, to draw upon the Lacedæmonians this confederate war of the Grecians. They who make Lyſander the author of this war, ſay he was offended that the Thebans alone, of all the confederates, ſhould lay claim to a tenth of the ſpoils taken from the Athenians at Decelea, and complain of his ſending the money to Sparta. But what provoked him moſt againſt the Thebans was, that they ſhould be the firſt to furniſh the Athenians with means to deliver themſelves from the thirty tyrants whom he had eſtabliſhed at Athens, and

* Plutarch in this place mentions too ſlightly theſe circumſtances which are not well known, and of which a more perfect account may not be unwelcome to the reader. Xenophon writes that when Tithrauſtes perceived Ageſilaus, who had conceived a thorough contempt for the king of Perſia, had no thoughts of quitting Aſia, but, on the contrary, was in great hopes of ſurpriſing the prince; he was at a loſs what courſe to take in that extremity, and after he had thoroughly conſidered of it, reſolved to ſend Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents to be diſtributed among the ſeveral governors in the cities of Greece; that Timocrates gave part thereof to Androclidas, Iſmenias, and Galaxidorus at Thebes, to Timolaus and Perianthus at Corinth, and at Argos to Cyclo, and his adherents; that thereupon theſe cities began to cry out againſt the Lacedæmonians, and that from thence ſprung the combination of Greece againſt Sparta.

† This likewiſe wants a further explanation. Theſe men, eſpecially the Thebans, thus bribed by the king of Perſia, rightly judging that the Lacedæmonians would not be the firſt to break with their allies, if ſome of them did not begin the war by ſome act of hoſtility, perſuaded the Locrians to pillage a tract of land that was in diſpute betwixt the Phocians and Thebans, not doubting but the Phocians would immediately, by way of repriſal, enter Locris with an army. They were right in their conjecture. The Phocians marched into Locris, and raiſed great contributions. Hereupon Androclidas and his adherents perſuaded the Thebans to march to the aſſiſtance of the Locrians. The Thebans immediately invaded Phocis, and ravaged the country. The Phocians ſent for ſuccours to Sparta, declaring that they had not begun the war, but that they had been forced to enter into the territories of the Locrians in their own defence; and the Lacedæmonians very readily laid hold of this occaſion to declare war againſt the Thebans.

for

for ſupporting of whom the Lacedæmonians had publiſhed a decree, *that thoſe who fled out of Athens ſhould be apprehended where-ever they ſhould be found, and forced back into the city; and that whoever endeavoured to reſcue them, ſhould be treated as enemies to Sparta.* The Thebans gave out a counter-order to this decree, which was generous and becoming the poſterity of Hercules and Bacchus; for they proclaimed, *that every houſe and city in Bœotia ſhould be open and free for any Athenian that deſired protection; and that whoever did not aſſiſt a fugitive who was ſeized, ſhould be fined a talent; that beſides, if any one ſhould march armed through Bœotia to the relief of the Athenians, he ſhould find a ſafe paſſage, without being in the leaſt moleſted.* Neither did they ſtop here; for as their decree was hoſpitable and friendly, ſo their actions were agreeable to it. For Thraſybulus with ſeveral other fugitives was ſo far aided by them ſecretly, with money and arms, that he made an aſſault upon the caſtle of Phyle, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. Theſe were the grounds of Lyſander's reſentment againſt the Thebans. He was naturally prone to anger, and the fretfulneſs attendant on old age now rendered his paſſion more violent. He therefore importuned the magiſtrates to employ him againſt the Thebans; accordingly he marched out with an army under his command, and Pauſanias followed him with another. Pauſanias went round by Cithæron, with a deſign to invade Bœotia: Lyſander paſſed through Phocis in order to meet him; and as he marched along, he took by ſurrender the city of the Orchomenians, ſtormed Lebadia, and plundered it. From thence he ſent letters to Pauſanias, bidding him remove from Platææ and make haſte to join forces with him at Haliartus, where he himſelf would certainly meet him by break of day. Theſe letters fell into the hands of the enemy, the meſſenger having been taken by ſome of the Theban ſcouts. Upon opening them

they intruſted their city with the Athenians, who were come to their aſſiſtance; then ſallying out at the firſt watch they arrived at Haliartus, and put part of their forces into the city, juſt before Lyſander was come up with his. Lyſander had at firſt reſolved to pitch his tents upon the ſide of an hill, and wait for Pauſanias; but day drawing on, he grew impatient, and led his ſoldiers out in a direct line along the road to the walls of the city.

There is a fountain called *Ciſſuſa*, in which, they ſay, Bacchus was waſhed immediately after his birth; for the water appears like wine, is of a bright colour, and a pleaſant taſte. Not far off grow the Cretan canes, of which javelins are made, by which the Haliartians gueſs Rhadamanthus dwelt there, and the rather becauſe his ſepulchre too, which they call *Alea*, is ſeen in this place. The monument of Alcmena is hard by, where they pretend ſhe was buried; and they ſay that after Amphitryon's death ſhe married Rhadamanthus. It was hereabout that thoſe Thebans, who had not entered Haliartus were placed, having the city on their left hand; and from hence they fell upon the enemy's rear. In the mean time, thoſe within the city drew up in order of battle together with the Haliartians, and for ſome time remained quiet; but as ſoon as Lyſander appeared with his vanguard before the gates, they ruſhed out, killed him, and a ſoothſayer that attended him, with ſome few more; for the greater part made their eſcape to the main army, but the Thebans purſued them ſo cloſely that they all ſoon diſperſed and fled to the hills. A thouſand of them were killed in this purſuit, and three hundred of the Thebans fell by chaſing them too raſhly into craggy and dangerous places. Theſe three hundred had been ſuſpected of correſponding with the Lacedæmonians, which made them ſo raſh and deſperate; they being reſolved to wipe off this diſgrace,

diſgrace, though with the loſs of their lives. The news of this defeat came to Pauſanias, in his march from Platææ to Theſpiæ. He preſently put his army in order, and marched towards Haliartus, where about the ſame time Thraſybulus was arrived with a party of the Athenians under his command. Pauſanias would have articled with them upon terms for the dead; but the more aged among the Spartans in the army could not think of it; they murmured at it among themſelves, and at laſt went all together to the king, telling him, *Lyſander's body was not to be redeemed by conditions, but by arms; that if they conquered, they might then carry it off honourably; if they happened to be overcome themſelves, it would however be glorious to die upon the ſpot with their commander.* Pauſanias, however, ſaw it was too difficult a matter to conquer the Thebans, who were juſt now fluſhed with victory; beſides, if this could have been done, the body lay ſo near the walls, that it could not eaſily be borne off without a truce; he therefore immediately diſpatched an herald, obtained a treaty, carried off the dead, and retired with his army. As ſoon as they had paſſed the confines of Bœotia, they interred Lyſander in the territories of the Panopæans, the friends and confederates of the Spartans. His monument is ſtill to be ſeen in the road from Delphi to Chæronea, where the Lacedæmonians for ſome time took up their quarters. While they ſtaid there, one of the Phocians giving an account of the battle to a friend of his who had not been preſent at it, ſaid, *The enemy fell upon them, after Lyſander had paſſed Hoplites.* A Spartan, Lyſander's friend, that ſtood by, aſked him what he meant by Hoplites, for he had never heard of the name before; *I mean the place*, ſaid the Phocian, *where the enemy cut off our vanguard; the river that runs under the walls of the city is called* Hoplites. The Spartan immediately wept, and broke out into this expreſſion, *How unavoidable are the de-*

crees of fate! For it ſeems the oracle had pronounced theſe verſes to Lyſander;

Hoplites' roaring torrent fly,
Nor leſs the earth-born dragon fear;
Inevitable fate is nigh,
When he attacks thee in the rear.

Some indeed ſay, Hoplites does not run to Haliartus, but is a river near Coronea, which mixed with the river Phliarus paſſes along to that city. It was formerly called *Hoplias*, but now it is known by the name of *Iſomantus*. The perſon who killed Lyſander was an officer of Haliartus, called *Neochorus*, and bore a dragon in his ſhield, and it is probable that this was the thing ſignified by the oracle.

It is reported, that, during the Peloponneſian war, the Thebans alſo received an oracle from Apollo Iſmenius, which foretold the battle at Delium *, and this at Haliartus, though this happened thirty years after. The oracle runs thus:

Avoid, when eager in the chace you run,
The confines where the ſavage wolf is found;
Let caution check your haſty ſteps; and ſhun
That den of foxes, the Orchalian ground.

The country about Delium he calls the confines where Bœotia borders upon Attica; by the Orchalian ground, is meant a hill now called *Alopecus* †, on that ſide of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

The Lacedæmonians looked upon Pauſanias's proceedings as ſo diſhonourable to a Spartan gene-

* The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, happened in the firſt year of the 89th Olympiad, 422 years before the birth of Chriſt; and the battle at Haliartus where Lyſander was killed, was fought in the ſecond year of the 96th Olympiad, 393 years before the incarnation.

† It was called *Alopecus*, becauſe it abounded with foxes.

ral,

ral, that they would have tried him for his life; but he not venturing to appear, fled to Tegea, where he devoted himſelf to a recluſe life in the temple of Minerva.

Lyſander's poverty, which was diſcovered at his death, made his virtue more admired, when it appeared that notwithſtanding he had ſo much wealth at his command, and ſuch abſolute authority over ſo many cities, he had not all increaſed the wealth of his own family. This is obſerved by Theopompus, whom we may ſooner believe when he commends, than when he finds fault, for he is more apt to diſcommend than to praiſe. Ephorus ſays, that upon ſome diſpute afterwards between the confederates with Sparta, when Lyſander's writings were to be examined, Ageſilaus was ordered to make the ſearch, who found a diſcourſe of Lyſander's concerning the government, where he endeavoured to ſhow how advantageous it would be to the commonwealth, if the right of ſucceſſion, which the family of the Eurytiontidæ and Agiadæ pretended to, was broke, and the kingdom made elective; this diſcourſe Ageſilaus deſigned to publiſh, and diſcover by that means to the people the real character of Lyſander. But Lacraditas, a wiſe man, and at that time preſident of the Ephori, prevented him, telling him, *It would be diſhonourable to diſturb Lyſander now at reſt in his grave; and that he ought rather to bury that diſcourſe with him, ſince it was written in a very artful and perſuaſive manner.*

The Spartans beſtowed many honours on him after his death; amongſt which this was none of the leaſt; there were ſome who had engaged themſelves to Lyſander's daughters, while they thought him rich; but when they ſaw how poor he died, through his honeſty, they broke off the contract. Theſe, in reſpect to Lyſander's memory, the Spartans ſeverely fined: for there was, it ſeems, in

Sparta, a law which punished as well those that broke off, or deferred a promised marriage, as those who engaged in an ill one; and this law was levelled at those chiefly who endeavoured to marry into rich, rather than good families. Thus we have faithfully related all the remarkable passages we could gather relating to the life of Lysander.

THE

THE LIFE OF SYLLA.

LUcius Cornelius Sylla was deſcended of a Patrician or noble family. They ſay that one of his anceſtors, called *Rufinus*, had been conſul, but that this honour rendered the diſgrace which he ſuffered more remarkable *; for being found poſſeſſed contrary to the law of more than ten pounds weight of plate, he was expelled the ſenate. To this was owing the obſcurity in which his poſterity lived for a long time after. Sylla himſelf was born to a ſcanty fortune. In his younger days he dwelt in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a very ſmall rate, ſo that afterwards he was upbraided as one who was grown too wealthy for a perſon of his extraction. For as he was one day boaſting in very high terms of his exploits in Lybia, a perſon of great character made anſwer; *And how canſt thou be an honeſt man, who though thou hadſt nothing left thee by thy father, art now maſter of ſuch large poſſeſſions?* For though in the days of Sylla men were degenerated from that innocence and integrity for which the preceding ages had been renowned, and were

* This was P. Cornelius Rufinus, who indeed had been twice conſul. The firſt time was in the year of Rome 463, and the ſecond thirteen years after. He was expelled the ſenate two years after his ſecond conſulſhip, when Q. Fabricius Luſcinus, and C. Æmilius Papus were cenſors. Velleius Paterculus tells us Sylla was the ſixth in deſcent from this Rufinus.

addicted

addicted to luxury and expenſe, yet it was even then as great a reproach to a man not to have perſevered in the poverty of his anceſtors, as to have ſquandered a large eſtate. And afterwards when he was become abſolute, and had proſcribed and murdered a great number of perſons, the ſon of a man who had been enfranchiſed, having been condemned to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, for concealing a friend of his that was in the proſcription, upbraided Sylla for dealing ſo ſeverely by an old acquaintance, recounting how they had lived long together under the ſame roof, where he paid two thouſand ſeſterces for the upper apartment, and Sylla three thouſand for that under him; ſo that the difference between their fortunes then was no more than one thouſand ſeſterces, which is equal to two hundred and fifty Attic drachmas. And thus much of his original.

As for his face, and the ſhape of his body, they may be judged of from his ſtatues, only his eyes could not be repreſented by them. They were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing, and were rendered ſtill more ſo by his complexion. For his face was full of red fiery pimples, intermixed here and there with ſpots of white. Hence, ſome ſay, he was ſurnamed *Sylla* *, in alluſion to which an Athenian droll ridiculed him in this verſe,

Sylla's a mulberry ſtrewed o'er with meal.

Nor is it improper to mention ſuch remarks as theſe, in deſcribing a perſon, who by nature was ſo addicted to raillery, that in his youthful obſcurer years he would converſe freely with mimics and jeſters, and accompany them in all their debauches. And, when he was in the height of his power, he would often ſend for the moſt impudent ſtage-players, and lewd buffoons of the town, to drink with them, and contend in licentious wit, without any

* *Sil* or *Syl* is a yellow kind of earth, which when burnt becomes red. Hence *Syllaceus color* in Vitruvius ſignifies *purple*.

regard

regard to his age, or the dignity of his place; ſo that many times affairs of the greateſt importance, which required his whole thought and application, lay neglected. At hours of refreſhment it was not in Sylla's nature to admit of any thing that was ſerious; and though at other times he was a man of buſineſs, and auſtere of countenance, yet would he alter ſo, all on a ſudden, as ſoon as he entered upon drinking and mirth, that he put himſelf upon a level with thoſe minſtrels, buffoons, and dancers, who governed him juſt as they pleaſed. To this diſſolute converſation and company was owing that contagion of libertiniſm which always ſtuck cloſe to him, that propenſity to libidinous deſires, which never left him even when he was ſtricken in years. In his youth he fell in love with Metrobius a player, and preſerved that infamous paſſion a long time. He once fell in love with a woman called *Nicopolis*, who though ſhe was a common proſtitute, yet was very wealthy, and was ſo taken with his addreſs, and the gracefulneſs of his youth, that ſhe became paſſionately fond of him, and when ſhe died left him her heir; he likewiſe inherited the eſtate of his mother-in-law, who loved him as her own ſon. By theſe additions to his fortune, he became conſiderably wealthy.

He was choſen quæſtor to Marius in his firſt conſulſhip, and attended him into Africa in the war againſt Jugurtha. When he was arrived in the camp, he ſoon acquired a great reputation on many accounts; and having made a right uſe of a favourable opportunity, he gained the friendſhip of Bocchus king of Mauritania. For his ambaſſadors having made their eſcape out of the hands of ſome Numidian robbers, Sylla entertained them, treated them with much kindneſs and generoſity, diſmiſſed them with handſome preſents, and ſent them on their journey under the protection of a guard of ſoldiers.

Bocchus had hated and feared his ſon-in-law Jugurtha.

gurtha. That prince was then in the court of Bocchus, whither after his defeat he had betaken himſelf for protection. Bocchus being reſolved to betray him, ſent for Sylla, chuſing rather to let him ſeize him, than to deliver him up himſelf. Sylla having firſt communicated the ſecret to Marius, marched with a ſmall force, and threw himſelf into imminent danger: for confiding in a Barbarian, and one who had been unfaithful to his own relations, he, out of deſire to apprehend another man's perſon, ſurrendered of his own. Bocchus, having both of them now in his power, was neceſſitated to betray the one or the other, and after a long debate with himſelf, at laſt reſolved on his firſt deſign, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

Marius indeed triumphed for this action, but his enemies aſcribed the whole glory of it to Sylla, which he inwardly reſented, eſpecially when Sylla, who was naturally vain-glorious, and ſaw himſelf advanced on a ſudden from a private condition to ſuch a high degree of honour and eſteem in the world, was ſo overcome with vanity and ambition, that he cauſed a repreſentation of this adventure to be engraved on a ſignet, with which he ever after conſtantly ſealed his letters. The device was Bochus ſurrendering Jugurtha, and Sylla taking him into cuſtody. This touched Marius to the quick; however judging Sylla to be too inconſiderable a perſon to be envied by him, he continued ſtill to employ him in the army, making him one of his lieutenants in his ſecond conſulſhip, and in his third he made him a military tribune. In theſe poſts Sylla performed many ſignal ſervices; for when he was lieutenant, he took Copillus, chief of the Tectoſages, priſoner; and when he was tribune, he prevailed upon the Marſians, a great and warlike people, to become friends and confederates of the Romans. But when he perceived Marius began to

be

be jealous of him, and would no longer afford him opportunities of action, but rather oppoſed his advancement, he applied himſelf to Catulus, Marius's colleague in the conſulſhip.

This Catulus was a good man, but wanted that vigour and activity which is neceſſary in a military commander; he therefore in affairs of difficulty employed Sylla, whoſe power and reputation by this means greatly increaſed. He ſubdued moſt of the Barbarians that inhabited the Alps; and, in a time of ſcarcity, he undertook to furniſh the army with proviſions, and brought in ſuch ſtores as were not only fully ſufficient for the forces under Catulus, but the ſurplus ſerved to ſupply thoſe commanded by Marius.

This, as he tells us himſelf, exaſperated Marius ſtill the more againſt him. So ſlight and frivolous was the firſt beginning of that enmity between them, which afterwards produced ſuch implacable animoſities and ſeditions among the Romans, and ſuch ſlaughter of fellow-citizens, and ended at laſt in an abſolute tyranny, and in the confuſion of the whole ſtate. This proves Euripides to have been a wiſe man, and well ſkilled in the diſtempers of ſtates, when he forwarned men to beware of ambition, as the moſt deſtructive and pernicious goddeſs to thoſe who conſult her *.

Sylla by this time thinking that the reputation of his arms abroad was ſufficient to entitle him to a ſhare in the civil adminiſtration, betook himſelf immediately from the camp to the aſſembly, and was a candidate for the prætorſhip, but loſt it. This diſappointment he wholly aſcribed to the people; for he ſays himſelf that they knowing his intimacy with King Bocchus, and for that reaſon expecting, that if he was made ædile before his prætorſhip, he would gratify them with magnificent

* The paſſage alluded to here by Plutarch is in the Phœniſſæ, v. 534.

entertainments

entertainments of hunting and combats of Lybian wild beaſts, choſe other prætors, on purpoſe to force him on the ædileſhip. The vanity of this pretext was ſufficiently proved by matter of fact. For the year following, partly by flattering the people, and partly by money, he got himſelf elected prætor. This made Cæſar * reply one day with a ſmile, when Sylla was reprimanding him, and threatening to make uſe of his *own* authority againſt him, *Thou doſt well to call it thy* own, *for thou haſt bought it.* At the expiration of his prætorſhip he was ſent over into Cappadocia, under pretence of re-eſtabliſhing Ariobarzanes in his kingdom; but in reality to give a check to the growing power of Mithridates, who had enlarged his dominions by new conqueſts and acquiſitions equal to his paternal inheritance. He carried with him few troops out of Italy, but found the allies very ready to ſupply him; ſo that having defeated a great body of the Cappadocians, and a ſtill greater of the Armenians, who came to their aſſiſtance, he diſplaced Gordius, and confirmed Ariobarzanes in the kingdom.

During his ſtay on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus, a Parthian, came to him in quality of ambaſſador from King Arſaces. There had as yet been no correſpondence between the two nations. And this we may lay to the account of Sylla's felicity, that he ſhould be the firſt Roman to whom the Parthians addreſſed themſelves for alliance and friendſhip. At the time of audience, having ordered three chairs to be ſet, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and a third for himſelf, he placed himſelf in the midſt; for which the king of Parthia afterwards put Orobazus to death. Some people commended Sylla for his lofty behaviour to-

* This cannot be underſtood of Caius Julius Cæſar, who was but four years old when Sylla was prætor. The perſon meant here muſt undoubtedly be Sextus Julius Cæſar, who was conſul four years after Sylla's prætorſhip.

wards

wards the Barbarians: others accuſed him of arrogance and unſeaſonable ambition. It is reported, that a certain Chalcidian, of Orobazus's retinue, looking Sylla in the face, and obſerving attentively the different changes of his mind and motions of his body, according to the rules of his art, declared, *That is was impoſſible for him not to be hereafter the greateſt of men, and that it was ſtrange that he could be content not to be ſo already.*

At his return Cenſorinus accuſed him of extortion, for drawing a vaſt ſum of money from a kingdom that was in alliance and friendſhip with the Romans. However, Cenſorinus did not bring it to a trial, but let fall his accuſation. The quarrel between Sylla and Marius began to break out afreſh, receiving new life from the officiouſneſs of Bocchus, who to pleaſe the people of Rome, and ingratiate himſelf with Sylla, cauſed ſeveral images of victory to be erected in the capitol, and near them the figure of Jugurtha as he was ſurrendered by him into the hands of Sylla. Marius, impatient of this affront, reſolved to pull them down, and Sylla's friends were prepared to hinder it; ſo that the city would have been brought into the utmoſt confuſion, had not the confederate war, which lay long a-ſmothering, blazed forth at laſt, and prevented the ſedition.

In the courſe of this war, which was great in itſelf, and diverſified with many remarkable events, and which brought many misfortunes and extreme dangers upon the Romans, Marius made it appear that military virtue is of no conſequence unleſs accompanied with a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution: whereas Sylla on the other hand having performed many great exploits, was eſteemed by the citizens a great commander, by his friends the greateſt, and even by his enemies the moſt fortunate. However he did not behave on that occaſion like Timotheus the ſon of Conon the Athenian,

who when his enemies attributed all his ſucceſs to Fortune, and had pictured him aſleep, with Fortune by his ſide, caſting her nets over cities, and catching them for him, was highly incenſed, and complained that he was robbed of the glory due to his actions. And upon his return once from an expedition wherein he had been ſucceſsful, he ſaid publicly to the people, *In this, at leaſt, O Athenians, Fortune has no ſhare.* This preſumption of Timotheus ſo offended the goddeſs, that from that time ſhe was always his enemy; and he never afterwards accompliſhed any thing great, but was baffled in all his undertakings; ſo that in the end he fell into diſcredit with the people, and was baniſhed.

Sylla took a quite contrary courſe. He did not only ſuffer others to extol his good fortune, but he himſelf joined with them in magnifying his actions, and aſcribing them to the immediate influence of that deity; but whether this was done out of vanity, or whether he was really in earneſt, is a queſtion. He tells us himſelf in his memoirs, *that of all his actions, thoſe which he had been forced to execute in a quite different manner from what had been at firſt projected, and on which he had adventured on a ſudden, had been always more ſucceſsful than thoſe which had been undertaken upon the matureſt deliberation.* Beſide this he confeſſes, *that he was born for fortune rather than war*, by which it is plain he attributes more to fortune than valour. In ſhort, he makes himſelf entirely the creature of fortune, accounting even the unanimity that ſubſiſted between him and Metellus, a man of equal authority with himſelf, and afterwards his father-in-law, as a bleſſing from heaven. For expecting to find him a turbulent man in office, he found him on the contrary a quiet and obliging colleague. In thoſe memoirs of his which he dedicated to Lucullus, he admoniſhes him to eſteem nothing more certain than what the gods ſhould advertiſe him of in a viſion by night. He further

tells

tells us, that at a time when he was ſent at the head of an army againſt the confederates, the earth opened on a ſudden, near a place called *Laverna*, from whence iſſued a great deal of fire, and a flame ſhooting up to the heavens, and that the ſoothſayers being conſulted thereupon, returned for anſwer, *That a perſon of uncommon courage and beauty ſhould take the reins of government into his hands, and ſuppreſs the tumults and ſeditions with which Rome was at that time agitated.* Sylla ſaid, that he was that man of uncommon courage and beauty. For as to his beauty, that was evident from the golden colour of his hair; and as to his courage, he thought he might without ſhame proclaim it openly, after ſo many great and glorious actions. And thus much concerning his opinion of the gods.

As to the reſt of his character, he was irregular and inconſiſtent; very rapacious, but ſtill more liberal; in promoting or diſgracing whom he pleaſed, alike unaccountable; cringing to thoſe he ſtood in need of, and trampling on them who ſtood in need of him; ſo that it was hard to tell, whether his nature had more in it of diſdain or flattery. He was ſo unequal in inflicting puniſhments, that he would ſometimes put men to a cruel death upon the ſlighteſt grounds, and ſometimes ſhow no reſentment againſt the greateſt crimes; he would receive into favour the moſt hainous offenders upon eaſy terms, but ſmall and inconſiderable offences he would puniſh with death, and confiſcation of goods. It ſeems probable from hence, that he was really of a violent, cruel, and revengeful nature, but that he could check his diſpoſition when his intereſt required it. In this very confederate war, when the ſoldiers with ſtones and clubs had killed Albinus a chief commander, and his own lieutenant, he entirely neglected to puniſh the perpetrators of this murder; nay he took occaſion from thence to boaſt that he ſhould hereafter have

the ſoldiers more under command, and more enterpriſing, as they would be ſolicitous to expiate their crime by their valour; nor was he in the leaſt concerned at the reproaches to which he was expoſed for that omiſſion; but employing all his thoughts how to cruſh Marius, and ſeeing the confederate war almoſt at an end, he did all he could to recommend himſelf to the army, as a means of being declared general of the forces againſt Mithridates.

At his return to Rome he was choſen conſul with Quintus Pompeius, in the fiftieth year of his age, and made an advantageous alliance the ſame year, by marrying Cæcilia, the daughter of Metellus the high prieſt. The common people made ſatirical ſongs on this wedding, and many of the nobility were diſguſted at it, eſteeming him, as Livy writes, unworthy of ſuch a wife, whom before they thought worthy of a conſulſhip. This was not his only wife; for firſt in his younger days he married Ilia, by whom he had a daughter, after her Ælia, and then Cælia, whom he diſmiſſed on account of her barrenneſs; however, when he parted with her he paid her great reſpect, expreſſed his high opinion of her character, and gave her many preſents. But as, in a very few days after, he eſpouſed Metella, ſo precipitate a match made it believed that barrenneſs was not the real cauſe for which Cælia had been divorced. As for Metella, he loved and honoured her as long as he lived; and ſhe was known to have ſo great an intereſt with him, that at a time, when the people were deſirous to have thoſe of Marius's faction recalled, who had been baniſhed, and Sylla refuſed to conſent, they all unanimouſly called out upon Metella, deſiring her to intercede for them. And after he had made himſelf maſter of Athens, it is thought he treated the city more ſeverely than he would otherwiſe have done, becauſe ſome of the citizens, during the

ſiege,

ſiege, had, among other inſults which they uttered from the walls, ſpoken with indignity of Metella. But of this more hereafter.

Sylla being now conſul, thought the dignity of that office a trifle, in compariſon of his future views and expectations. He longed impatiently for the chief command in the war againſt Mithridates; but in this he was oppoſed by Marius, who, out of an exceſſive ambition and deſire of fame, thoſe never-dying paſſions, though his body was feeble, and inſufficient for the ſervice by reaſon of his age, yet ſtill thirſted after foreign wars and expeditions; and watching his time whilſt Sylla was gone to the camp, to ſettle ſome affairs which were left unfiniſhed, he ſat brooding at home, and at laſt hatched that execrable ſedition, which wrought more miſchief to Rome, than ſhe had received from all her former wars put together. This the gods had foretold by many ſigns and prodigies. For a flame broke forth of its own accord from the ſtaves of their enſigns, which was hard to be exſtinguiſhed. Three ravens brought their young into one of the ſtreets of Rome, and devoured them in public view, carrying the fragments back again to their neſts. Some mice having gnawed the conſecrated gold in one of the temples, the keepers of that temple caught one of them (a female) in a trap, where ſhe brought forth five young ones, and eat up three of them. But what was moſt aſtoniſhing, one day in a calm and clear ſky was heard the ſound of a trumpet, ſo loud, ſhrill, and doleful, that it ſtruck terror and amazement into the hearts of the people. The Hetruſcan ſages affirmed, that this prodigy betokened the approach of a new age, and a revolution of the whole univerſe. For, according to them, there are to be in all, eight ages or generations of men, all differing one from the other in their cuſtoms and manner of life; that to each of theſe, God has allotted a certain meaſure of

time, determined by the circuit of the great year; that when one age is almoſt expired, and another approaches, the heavens or the earth give notice of it by ſome wonderful tokens; ſo that they who have carefully ſtudied theſe things, find, that, at certain periods, a generation of men ariſes, differing in cuſtoms and manners, and more or leſs regarded by the gods than the preceding. They add, that among other mighty changes which happen in this ſucceſſion of ages, or generations, that which attends the art of divination is not the leaſt obſervable; that it is highly eſteemed in one age, and ſucceeds in all its predictions, which are ſupported by clear and evident tokens ſent from above; and that in another it is deſpiſed and vilified, founding its predictions not upon the certainty of ſcience, but forming them at random and by conjecture, and having a very obſcure and imperfect view of futurity. This was the mythology of the Tuſcan ſages, who were thought to be more knowing than all others. Whilſt the ſenate was aſſembled in the temple of Bellona to conſult the diviners upon theſe prodigies, a ſparrow came flying in before them all, with a graſhopper in her mouth; and dividing it into two parts, one of them ſhe let fall, and flew away with the other. Upon this the diviners declared, that they apprehended a dangerous ſedition, which would break out between the inhabitants of the city, and thoſe dwelling in the country; for, ſaid they, the citizens are noiſy and clamorous, like the graſhopper, whereas the country-people keep at home, and never come to Rome, but upon days of aſſembly, as did this ſparrow *.

About this time Marius aſſociated with the tribune Sulpitius, a man ſecond to none in the moſt atrocious villanies; ſo that we are not to inquire what other villains he excelled in wickedneſs, (for

* The original is obſcure in this place.

he

he excelled them all), but wherein he outdid himſelf. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice, all which he exerciſed to that degree, that he committed the moſt criminal and enormous actions without the leaſt heſitation or reluctance. He ſold by public auction the Roman freedom to foreigners and the ſons of enfranchiſed perſons, telling out the purchaſe-money on counters erected for that purpoſe in the forum. He kept three thouſand ſwordmen in conſtant pay, and had always about him a company of young gentlemen of the equeſtrian order, ready on all occaſions to execute his commands, whom he ſtyled his *Antiſenatorian band*. He had cauſed a law to be enacted, that no ſenator ſhould contract a debt of above two thouſand drachmas; but he himſelf after his deceaſe was found indebted three millions. This was the man whom Marius let in upon the commonwealth; and as his only method of tranſacting public affairs was by violence and arms, he made ſeveral ordinances of dangerous conſequence, and amongſt the reſt, that which gave to Marius the conduct of the Mithridatic war. Upon this the conſuls decreed a ceſſation of all public buſineſs; but as they were one day holding an aſſembly of the people near the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, he let looſe his Antiſenatorian band upon them, and amongſt many others ſlew the young ſon of Pompey the conſul, in the forum, Pompey himſelf hardly eſcaping in the croud. But Sylla being cloſely purſued into the houſe of Marius, was brought back into the forum, and forced to diſſolve the order for a ceſſation from buſineſs. Sulpitius then depoſed Pompey; however he continued Sylla in his conſulſhip, at the ſame time confirming to Marius the chief command in the war againſt Mithridates.

Immediately upon this two military tribunes were diſpatched to Nola, to take the charge of Sylla's army,

army, and reſign it to Marius. But Sylla got firſt to the camp; and the ſoldiers having heard what errand the tribunes were ſent upon, immediately ſtoned them. Marius in requital put the friends of Sylla in the city to the ſword, and plundered their houſes. The people were all in commotion, hurrying to and fro, ſome from the camp to the city, others from the city to the camp. The ſenate was now no longer maſter of itſelf, but was wholly governed by the dictates of Marius and Sulpitius; wherefore being informed that Sylla was advancing at the head of his troops towards the city, they ſent two of their prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to forbid his nearer approach. They having delivered their meſſage to Sylla in too haughty a manner, the ſoldiers had like to have ſlain them in their firſt tranſports; however, after breaking their rods, ſtripping them of their purple robes, and treating them in other reſpects with great indignity, they diſmiſſed them.

When the Romans ſaw them return in that condition without their enſigns of authority, they were in the utmoſt conſternation; they ſaw the ſtorm ready to break, and that a ſedition was unavoidable. Marius put himſelf in readineſs to repel force by force, and Sylla with his colleague Pompey marched at the head of ſix complete legions from Nola. His ſoldiers were impatient to advance directly to Rome; but he was himſelf wavering and undetermined, fearing the event of ſo hazardous an enterpriſe. As he was ſacrificing, Poſthumius the ſoothſayer having inſpected the entrails, ſtretched forth both his hands to Sylla, and required to be bound and kept in cuſtody till the battle was over, voluntarily ſubmitting himſelf to the ſevereſt puniſhment, if Sylla's expectations were not immediately crowned with ſucceſs. It is ſaid that there appeared to Sylla in a dream that goddeſs, whom the Romans learned to worſhip from the Cappadocians, whether it be

be the Moon, Minerva, or Bellona. He thought that this goddeſs ſtood near him, and delivered him a thunderbolt, that ſhe named to him his enemies one by one, and bid him diſcharge it againſt them, and that thereupon they immediately fell and diſappeared. Encouraged by this viſion, which he related the next morning to his colleague, he marched on towards Rome. About Picinæ * he was met by ſome ambaſſadors who beſought him not to come in that hoſtile manner againſt the city, and aſſured him that the ſenate had decreed to grant him every thing that was juſt and reaſonable. He ſeemingly ſubmitted to their requeſt, promiſed to encamp in that very place, and ordered the ground to be marked out accordingly.

The ambaſſadors believing him to be in earneſt returned to Rome. But as ſoon as they were gone, he ſent a party under the command of Lucius Baſilius and Caius Mummius, to ſecure one of the gates, and the wall on the ſide of the Æſquiline hill; while he himſelf followed with all expedition at the head of his whole army. Baſilius having poſſeſſed himſelf of the gate, and entered the city, the unarmed multitude got up to the tops of their houſes, from whence pelting him with ſtones and tiles, they made him halt, and at laſt forced him back to the wall. Sylla by this time was come up, and ſeeing what was done, called aloud to his men, bidding them ſet fire to the houſes; and he himſelf with a flaming torch in his hand led the way, and commanded his archers to make uſe of their fire-darts, and to let them fly at the tops of the houſes: this he did without the leaſt conſideration, being inflamed with rage, and giving himſelf up entirely to the guidance of his paſſion; he thought only of his enemies, and ſhowed no regard or pity

* This place muſt neceſſarily have been between Nola and Rome.

either

either to friends, relations, or acquaintance; the inſtrument of his vengeance was fire, which knows no diſtinction of friend or foe, of innocence or guilt.

In this diſpute Marius being driven into the temple of Veſta, proclaimed liberty to all the ſlaves who would join him; but the enemy coming on, he was overpowered, and fled the city.

Sylla having aſſembled the ſenate, had ſentence of death paſſed on Marius, and ſome few others, amongſt whom was Sulpitius the tribune. Sulpitius being betrayed by one of his ſlaves was immediately ſeized, and executed. Sylla enfranchiſed the ſlave who had betrayed him, but at the ſame ordered him to be thrown headlong down the Tarpeian rock. As for Marius, he ſet a price on his head by proclamation; which was an action inconſiſtent both with gratitude and policy, ſince he himſelf had fled not long before into the houſe of Marius, who notwithſtanding diſmiſſed him in ſafety. If Marius had then given way to Sulpitius, who was for diſpatching Sylla, he might now have been ſupreme and uncontrolled; but he choſe rather to ſpare his life, and releaſe him; for which Sylla, when he had the ſame advantage over him, made him a very ungrateful return.

By theſe proceedings Sylla highly offended the ſenate, who could not with ſafety expreſs their reſentment; but the diſpleaſure and indignation of the commonalty ſhowed itſelf plainly by their action. For they ignominiouſly rejected Nonius his nephew, and one of his friends called *Servius*, who were candidates for the conſulſhip, and depended upon his intereſt and recommendation; and they named two others in their ſtead, whoſe promotion they thought would give him the greateſt uneaſineſs. Sylla pretended to be well pleaſed with this, ſaying, *He with joy ſaw the people by his means reſtored to the full liberty of acting as they pleaſed.* And to pacify

cify the public odium, he created Lucius Cinna conſul, one of the adverſe party, having firſt bound him under oaths and imprecations, to be true to his intreſt: for Cinna aſcending the capitol with a ſtone in his hand, took a ſolemn oath, to which he added this imprecation, *That in caſe he did not faithfully adhere to the intereſt of Sylla, he might be thrown out of the city in the ſame manner as he then threw that ſtone out of his hand*; at which words he threw it on the ground in the preſence of many people.

Notwithſtanding this, Cinna had no ſooner entered upon his charge, but he began to undo all that had been done by Sylla, againſt whom he commenced a criminal ſuit, and appointed Virginius, one of the tribunes, to be his accuſer; but Sylla leaving him and the court of judicature to themſelves, ſet forward againſt Mithridates.

About the time when Sylla ſailed with his forces from Italy, Mithridates, who was then at Pergamus, was diſturbed by many omens and prognoſtics, among which was the following. It is reported that a victory, which by means of a certain engine contrived by the Pergamenians was to deſcend with a crown in her hand, and place it upon the head of Mithridates, at his entrance into the theatre, fell aſunder when it had almoſt reached his head, and that the crown tumbled down, and was broke to pieces. This prodigy extremely terrified the people, and greatly diſcouraged Mithridates himſelf, though his affairs had hitherto ſucceeded beyond expectation; for having wreſted Aſia from the Romans, and driven Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes out of their kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia, he fixed his court at Pergamus, and from thence conferred on his friends riches, principalities, and kingdoms. Of his two ſons, the eldeſt reigned peaceably in Pontus, and the territories of the Boſphorus, which were the ancient

cient inheritance of his predeceſſors, and extended as far as the deſerts bordering on the lake Mæotis. His other ſon Ariarathes was at the head of a powerful army, making a conqueſt of Thrace and Macedon, whilſt his generals at the head of other forces were fighting victoriouſly for him in other quarters. Among theſe the moſt conſiderable was Archelaus, who having a large fleet under his command, was become abſolute at ſea, and having ſubdued the Cyclades, with all the other iſlands lying within the promontory of Malea, and even Eubœa itſelf, at laſt made himſelf maſter of Athens. From thence he made his excurſions as far as Theſſaly, cauſing all the cities in Greece to revolt from the Romans, without meeting any impediment, till he came to Chæronea. There Brutius Sura, deputy to Sentius governor of Macedon, a man of great abilities and undaunted courage, oppoſed himſelf to this impetuous torrent, which had laid waſte all Bœotia, and having defeated Archelaus in three engagements drove him out of Greece, and forced him back to ſea. However, having received Lucullus's orders to give place to Sylla, who had been appointed his ſucceſſor, he quitted Bœotia, and returned to Sentius, at a time when the Roman affairs ſucceeded beyond expectation under his management, and Greece was ripe for a change, being charmed with his valour and conduct. Theſe were the greateſt of Brutius's exploits.

Sylla at his arrival received by ambaſſadors the ſubmiſſions and invitations of all the cities of Greece, except Athens, which was forced by the tyrant Ariſtion to declare for the king: whereupon Sylla marched thither with all his forces, and beſieged the Piræus, erecting batteries of all kinds, and trying every manner of aſſault. If he had waited but a little longer, he might have taken the upper city without any hazard, for it was reduced by famine to the laſt extremity. But being in haſte to return

to

to Rome, and in daily fear of ſome innovations there, he ſpared neither dangers, combats, nor expenſes, ſo he might but once put an end to that war; for, beſides his other warlike preparations, he had no leſs than ten thouſand yoke of mules daily employed in the ſervice of his machines and batteries. At laſt being in want of timber, (for many of his machines had been cruſhed by their own enormous weight, and as many ruined by the fire of the enemy), he ſupplied himſelf from the ſacred groves, and cut down the ſtately walks in the academy, and Lyceum, two famous incloſures in the ſuburbs. And as money was wanting for the expenſe of the war, he had recourſe to the ſacred and inviolable treaſures of the temples, and accordingly ſent for the richeſt and moſt precious offerings in Epidaurus, and Olympia. He likewiſe wrote to the Amphyctions aſſembled at Delphi, requiring them to ſend the treaſure of the god to him, and telling them that *it would remain in ſafer cuſtody with him; or if he ſhould be obliged to make uſe of it, they might be ſure he would return the value when the war was ended.* At the ſame time he ſent to Delphi one of his friends called *Caphis*, a Phocean, who had orders to receive it all by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphi, he was loath to lay hands on holy things, and with tears in his eyes bewailed to the Amphictyons the neceſſity he was under. At that inſtant ſome among them pretended to hear the ſound of Apollo's lyre in the innermoſt part of the temple; ſo that Caphis, either really believing it to be true, or elſe being deſirous to ſtrike a religious awe into Sylla, ſent him an account of what had happened. But Sylla, laughing at his ſimplicity, returned for anſwer, *That it was matter of wonder to him that Caphis ſhould not underſtand that muſic was a ſign of joy, and not of anger; that therefore he had nothing to do but go boldly,*

and take the treaſure which the god ſo cheerfully offered him.

Thus all this treaſure was conveyed away, whilſt the greateſt part of Greece knew not of what it conſiſted; only there was a ſilver tun, which of the many royal donations had till then remained untouched. This being too weighty and cumberſome for any one carriage, the Amphyctions were forced to cut it in pieces; that therefore was a part of the treaſure which could not be ſecreted. This made the Grecians recall to their memory ſometimes Titus Flaminius, and Manius Acilius, and ſometimes Paulus Æmilius, of whom one having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the other two overthrown the kings of Macedon, were ſo far from violating the temples, that they expreſſed a high veneration for them, and enriched them with new donations. Thoſe indeed were generals duly elected according to law; they were leaders of men well diſciplined, and taught to yield ready obedience to command; they, in the worth and dignity of their minds, were ſovereign princes, though their equipage and expenſe was that of private perſons; for they ſcorned to receive more from the public, than the eſtabliſhed allowance, and thought it more ignominious for a general to flatter his ſoldiers than fear the enemy; whereas the commanders of theſe times, obtaining the ſuperiority by force, not worth, and employing their arms againſt each other, rather than againſt the enemy, were conſtrained to temporiſe in authority, and hiring the ſoldiers labour at the price of luxury, by degrees rendered their whole country mercenary, and became themſelves ſlaves to the vileſt of wretches, that they might rule over their betters. Theſe practices expelled Marius, and again brought him in againſt Sylla. Theſe cauſed Cinna to be the aſſaſſin of Octavius, and Fimbria of Flaccus. Sylla may not unjuſtly be ſaid to have been the chief author of all

theſe

theſe evils: for he, in order to entice over to his party ſuch as were under the command of others, was profuſely bountiful to thoſe under his own; ſo that what by bribing the one to revolt, and encouraging the other in all the exceſſes of luxury and intemperance, he ſoon came to want money, eſpecially for the carrying on of that ſiege.

He had indeed an impatient reſtleſs deſire to be maſter of Athens. Whether he was led by a ſenſeleſs emulation to fight as it were againſt the ſhadow of that once celebrated city; or whether he was provoked at the bitter jeſts and ſcurrilities which the tyrant Ariſtion vented daily from the walls againſt him and Metella, on purpoſe to vex and gall him.

This Ariſtion was a compound of lewdneſs and cruelty, the very ſink of all the vitious humours and ill qualities of his maſter Mithridates. Thus this city, which had ſurvived ſo many wars, eſcaped ſo many tyrannies, and got the better of ſo many ſeditions, was now reduced to the laſt extremity by this tyrant, who hung upon her like a mortal and incurable diſtemper. At the time when a medimnus of wheat was ſold for a thouſand drachmas, and the inhabitants were forced to live on the herbs and roots which they found about the citadel, and even on ſodden ſhoe-leather and oil-bags, he wallowed in luxury and debauch, his whole employment was revelling and dancing (and that even in the day-time), and inſulting and ridiculing the enemy. In the mean time, he ſuffered the holy lamp of the goddeſs to expire for want of oil; and when the high prieſteſs ſent to him for half a pint of wheat, he ſent her ſo much pepper. When the prieſts and ſenators went to him in a body, and entreated him to have compaſſion on the city, and obtain a capitulation for it, he diſperſed them by a flight of arrows. At length he was with much difficulty

perſuaded to ſend two or three of his drunken companions to treat with Sylla; who perceiving that they offered nothing to the purpoſe, but only made a pompous declamation about Theſeus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians againſt the Medes, replied, *You may return, my friends, and take your ſpeeches back with you; I was not ſent hither by the Romans, to improve my learning, but to chaſtiſe the rebellious.*

In the mean time news came to Sylla, that ſome old men diſcourſing in the Ceramicus, were overheard to blame the tyrant, for not ſecuring the wall near the place called *Heptachalcos*, the only part which the enemy could eaſily attack with ſucceſs. Sylla neglected not the report, but going in the night, and diſcovering the place to be aſſailable, immediately made the attack. Sylla himſelf mentions in his memoirs, that Marcus Teius was the firſt man who ſcaled the wall, and that meeting with an adverſary, and ſtriking him on the head with great violence, he broke his ſword, and that notwithſtanding this he did not retire, but firmly maintained his ground. The city was taken on that part, as the old men had foretold.

When Sylla had levelled that part of the wall which ſtood between the Piræan and the holy gate, he entered the breach about dead of night in a moſt dreadful manner, to the ſound of vaſt numbers of trumpets and cornets, and amidſt the ſhouts and menaces of a licentious army, let looſe to rapine and murder, and who with their drawn ſwords immediately diſperſed themſelves through all the ſtreets. We have no account of the number of the ſlain; only from the ſpace of ground overflowed with blood, we may even now make ſome calculation of it; for to paſs by the execution done in other quarters of the city, the blood ſpilt in the forum only covered the whole Ceramicus, as far as the gate Dipylum. Some ſay it forced its way through

through the gate, and overflowed the ſuburb. But though ſo many were ſlain by the ſoldiers, yet the number of thoſe was not leſs, who, out of pity and love to their country then at the point of deſtruction, ſlew themſelves, the beſt of the citizens deſpairing and dreading to ſurvive; as not expecting either humanity or moderation in Sylla. At length, partly by the good offices of Midias and Calliphon, two Athenian exiles, who threw themſelves at his feet, and beſought him to ſpare the city, partly at the interceſſion of ſome ſenators who had followed his camp, and ſeconded their requeſt, and partly becauſe he had by this time glutted himſelf with revenge, he put a ſtop to his cruelty, and making honourable mention of the ancient Athenians, ſaid, *I forgive the many for the ſake of a few, the living for the dead.* He took Athens, according to his own memoirs, on the calends of March, which agrees exactly with the firſt of Antheſterion, which day the Athenians diſtinguiſhed by many ceremonies obſerved in memory of the great waſte and deſolation cauſed by a deluge, which they ſay happened about that time of the year many ages before *.

At the taking of the town, the tyrant fled into the citadel, and was there beſieged by Curio, who had that charge committed to him. He held out a conſiderable time, but was at laſt forced to ſurrender for want of water. There ſeemed ſomething providential in this circumſtance; for on the very day and hour on which Curio made Ariſtion his priſoner, the ſky, which till then had been very clear and ſerene, was overcaſt on a ſudden, the clouds gathered, and the rain fell in ſuch abundance, that the citadel was overflowed.

Not long after Sylla made himſelf maſter of the Piræus, and burnt all the buildings there, and a-

* The deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica near ſeventeen hundred years before.

mong the reſt the arſenal, which had been built by Philo, and was a maſterpiece of architecture.

In the mean time Taxiles, Mithridates's general, coming down from Thrace and Macedon, with an army of a hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ninety armed chariots, ſent orders to Archelaus to join him. Archelaus was at that time riding in the haven of Munychia, with intention neither to quit the ſea, nor engage the Romans, but to protract the war, and cut off the enemy's proviſions; which Sylla perceiving much better than Taxiles, decamped immediately, and quitting a country ſo barren that it was not able to ſubſiſt an army even in times of peace, marched with his forces into Bœotia. He was thought by ſome to have taken falſe meaſures, in leaving Attica, a rugged country, and uneaſy for the cavalry to move in, for the plain and open fields of Bœotia, when he knew the Barbarians ſtrength to conſiſt moſtly in horſe and chariots. But, as was ſaid before, to avoid famine and ſcarcity, he was forced to run the riſk of a battle: beſides, he was in pain for Hortenſius, a man expert in war, and of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, who was marching to join him with a ſtrong reinforcement out of Theſſaly, and was waylaid by the Barbarians in the ſtraits. But Caphis, our countryman, led Hortenſius another way, unknown to the Barbarians. He conducted him by Parnaſſus, to a poſt ſituate under Tithora, which at preſent is a large city, but was then no better than a fort built on the brow of a ſteep precipice, whither the Phoceans fled and ſecured themſelves at the time when Greece was invaded by Xerxes. Hortenſius encamping here, kept off the enemy by day, and at night deſcending by difficult paſſages, arrived ſafe at Patronis, where he joined Sylla, who was come with the legions to meet him. Thus united, they poſted themſelves on a fertile hill, in the plains of Elateia, planted with trees,

and

and watered at the bottom: it is called *Philobæotus*, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, and its agreeable ſituation.

As they lay thus encamped, they ſeemed to the enemy a contemptible number, for they were not above fifteen hundred horſe, and leſs than fifteen thouſand foot; wherefore the reſt of the commanders over-perſuading Archelaus, and drawing up the army, covered the field with horſes, chariots, bucklers, and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of ſo many nations, ſtanding thick together in order of battle, ſeemed to rend the ſky; nor did the pomp and ſplendour of their appearance contribute a little to ſtrike terror into their enemies. For the brightneſs of their armour magnificently embelliſhed with gold and ſilver, and the rich colours of their Median and Scythian veſts, intermixed with the glittering of braſs and poliſhed ſteel, ſeemed as they moved to kindle the air with a ſparkling gleam like lightning; at which the Romans were ſo terrified, that they kept cloſe within their intrenchments. It was impoſſible for Sylla by any means to remove their fear; and he thought it not ſafe to force them to fight whilſt they were under that conſternation. Wherefore he was obliged to ſit down in quiet, and endure, though much againſt his will, the ſcoffs and inſults of the Barbarians. However this very thing in the end turned to his advantage. The enemy's contempt of the Romans was followed by negligence and diſorder among themſelves. Beſides, they had ſo many commanders among them that they obeyed none. Some few of them contained themſelves within their trenches; the reſt were ſcattered up and down in queſt of plunder, and wandered ſeveral days journey from their camp. It is ſaid that in theſe excurſions they demoliſhed the city of Panopea, ſacked Lebadia, and pillaged the temple wherein

wherein the oracles were delivered; and all this they did without any orders from their generals.

Sylla in the mean time being extremely grieved and enraged to ſee the cities all round deſtroyed, ſuffered not his ſoldiers to lie idle, but continually kept them to hard labour. He made them turn the courſe of the river Cephiſus, and draw deep trenches, exempting none from work; but being himſelf a ſevere inſpector, he rigorouſly puniſhed thoſe that were remiſs, that being weary with working they might chuſe rather to ſtand the hazard of an engagement. This happened as he deſigned it; for after they had been toiling for three days together, as Sylla paſſed by to inſpect the works they all cried out to him to lead them againſt the enemy. Sylla replied, *This demand proceeds rather from a backwardneſs to labour, than any forwardneſs to fight; but if you are in earneſt, and have really a mind to fight, go take your arms, and poſſeſs yourſelves of that poſt.* At theſe words he pointed to them a place where formerly ſtood a caſtle of the Parapotamians, but which was now, the town being deſtroyed, nothing more than the ridge of a mountain, ſharp and craggy, and ſeparated from mount Edylium by the river Aſſus, which runs between them, and at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephiſus. The river growing very rapid and impetuous by this confluence, renders that ridge a ſafe and commodious poſt for an encampment. Wherefore Sylla perceiving that the Chalcaſpides, or braſs targetiers of the enemy, were in motion to poſt themſelves upon it, was deſirous to prevent them, as he did by the vigour and activity of his ſoldiers.

Archelaus being thus repulſed, moved his camp, and turned his forces towards Chæronea. Thoſe of the Chæroneans, who were then in Sylla's army, entreated him not to abandon their city to the enemy; upon which Sylla detached thither one of his

his legions under the command of Gabinius a tribune of the ſoldiers, and added all the Chæroneans to the party. They endeavoured to arrive at Chæronea before Gabinius, but he marched with greater ſpeed than they. So zealous was that officer, that his concern for the ſafety of the city exceeded even that of her own citizens. Juba the hiſtorian ſays, it was not Gabinius, but Ericius *, who was employed in that ſervice. However, in this manner did our city eſcape the danger which ſo nearly threatened her.

In the mean time the Romans were daily encouraged by reports, prophecies, and promiſes of victory, which they received from Lebadia, and the cave of Trophonius. The inhabitants of that country report many things relating to thoſe prophecies; and Sylla himſelf affirms in the tenth book of his memoirs, that Quintius Titius, a man who had conſiderable dealings in Greece, came to him after the defeat of the enemy near Chæronea, aſſuring him that Trophonius had foretold that in a few days there was to be another battle, and another victory on the ſame ſpot; that this prophecy was followed by another from a ſoldier belonging to the army, called *Salvenius*, who foretold to him the future ſucceſs of his affairs in Italy; that both the one and the other affirmed that what they ſpoke was by divine inſpiration; that they both agreed in this, that the viſion they had ſeen, and which had ſpoke to them, perfectly reſembled in majeſty, grandeur, and beauty the Olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had paſſed over the Aſſus, he marched up to Edylium, and encamped overagainſt Archelaus, who had intrenched himſelf ſtrongly between the mountains Acontium and Edylium, near a place called *Aſſia*. The poſt where he encamped

* Some commentators think it ſhould be read *Hirtius*; for ſo the name is written in ſome manuſcripts when he is mentioned again, p. 263.

is to this day named from him *Archelaus*. Sylla remained one day in that camp, where leaving Muræna with a legion and two cohorts, to haraſs and alarm the enemy, who were in ſome diſorder, he marched with the reſt of the forces to the banks of the Cephiſus, where he ſacrificed. The holy rites being ended, he went towards Chæronea, to join the forces there, and view Mount Thurion, where a party of the enemy's army was poſted. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point; at the foot of it is the river Morius *, and the temple of Apollo Thurius: the god had this ſurname from Thuro, mother of Chæron, who is ſaid to have been the founder of Chæronea. Others aſſert that the heifer which Apollo gave to Cadmus for a guide firſt appeared to him there, and that the place took its name from thence; for the Phœnicians call a heifer *Thor*.

At Sylla's approach to Chæronea, the tribune, who had been ſent thither to defend the city, went out to meet him at the head of his troops, bearing in his hand a crown of laurel. He accepted of the crown, kindly ſaluted the ſoldiers, and exhorted them to behave with reſolution in the encounter in which they were ſoon to be engaged. In the mean time Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus, two men of Chæronea, preſented themſelves to him, undertaking to diſlodge the enemy from their poſt at Thurium, if they might have a ſmall party to aſſiſt them; there being a by-way unknown to the Barbarians, leading from a place called *Petrochus*, by the temple of the muſes, up to the top of the mountain, from whence it was eaſy for them to charge upon the Barbarians, and either ſtone them from above, or force them down into the plain. Sylla being aſſured of their fidelity and courage by Gabinius, gave them the party they deſired, and

* This river is afterwards called *Molus*; but which was the true name, is uncertain.

encouraged

encouraged them to proceed. In the mean time he formed his army; and diſpoſing of the cavalry in the two wings, he commanded the right himſelf, and the left he committed to the direction of Muræna. Gallus * and Hortenſius his lieutenants were placed in the rear with a body of reſerve, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the hills to watch the motions of the enemy, and prevent the army from being encompaſſed; for the enemies were obſerved to extend their wings, conſiſting of an infinite number of horſe and all their light infantry, which, as they could move with great ſpeed and agility, were deſigned to take a large circuit and incloſe the Romans.

In the mean time the two Chæroneans having received by Sylla's appointment ſuch a party as they deſired under the command of Ericius, marched unobſerved by the enemy, and gained the top of Thurium. The Barbarians, as ſoon as they diſcovered them, immediately fell into diſorder, and fled in ſuch confuſion that they fell foul on one another. For they durſt not ſtand a charge from the Romans who drove furiouſly at them from the upper ground, but hurried headlong downwards, whereby ſome fell on their own ſpears, and others were overtaken by the ſwords of the purſuers, ſo that about three thouſand of them were ſlain on the mountain. Some of the fugitives fell into the hands of Muræna, in the left wing, and were there cut to pieces. As many as could gain the camp flung themſelves upon the main body with ſuch precipitation, that all the ranks were ſeized with terror and confuſion, ſo that it was no eaſy matter for the officers to reſtore and compoſe them; and this was one of the principal occaſions of their defeat. For Sylla taking his advantage of the preſent confuſion, ran full ſpeed upon them with his right wing, and came ſo ſoon up with them as to

* In ſome copies it is *Galba*.

diſappoint

diſappoint the ſervice of their armed chariots. For thoſe chariots acquire their force only from the length of their courſe, which gives an impetuous rapidity to their motion; whereas when their career is ſhort, their motion is weak and ineffectual, like the flight of an arrow from an unbraced bow. Thus it fared with the Barbarians; for the chariots which came on firſt moved ſo ſluggiſhly, and made ſo weak an impreſſion, that the Romans repelled them with eaſe, and ſetting up a loud laugh called for more of them, as it is cuſtomary to do at Rome in their races in the Circus.

By this time the main body of both armies was engaged. The Barbarians, on one ſide, charged with their long pikes, and with ſhields locked cloſe together ſtrove to maintain their ground; and the Romans, on the other ſide, threw by their javelins, and with great fury attacked them ſword in hand, endeavouring to parry their pikes, and to cloſe in with them. For they were extremely enraged at the ſight of fifteen thouſand ſlaves, whom the king's officers having collected from various cities, had ſet free, and incorporated with their infantry; whereupon a Roman centurion made this reflection, *That he never knew ſlaves allowed the privilege of free men unleſs in the Saturnalia.* Theſe ſlaves, however, contrary to their natural genius, had ſo much courage and reſolution as to ſtand the ſhock of the Roman infantry. Their battalions were ſo cloſe and deep, that the Romans could not break their ranks, till the archers and ſlingers in the ſecond line let fly at them ſhowers of darts and ſtones, which at laſt forced them to give way. As Archelaus was extending the right wing to encompaſs the Romans, Hortenſius with his cohorts came running down, with an intention to charge him in the flank; but Archelaus wheeling about ſuddenly with two thouſand horſe, Hortenſius, overpowered with numbers, withdrew to the upper grounds, where he

he was far from the main body, and ſurrounded by the enemy. When Sylla heard this, he came ſpeedily with ſome troops from the right wing, which had not yet engaged, to his ſuccour; but Archelaus gueſſing his deſign by the duſt which was raiſed by his troops, turned on a ſudden to the right wing from whence Sylla came, in hopes to have ſurpriſed it without a commander. At the ſame time likewiſe Taxiles, with the Chalcaſpides, attacked Muræna, ſo that a cry coming from both places, and the hills repeating it around, Sylla ſtood in ſuſpenſe which way to move; but, after a little conſideration, he thought it beſt to return to his former poſt; he therefore detached Hortenſius with four cohorts to the aſſiſtance of Muræna, and commanding the fifth to follow him, returned in all haſte to the right wing, which he found engaged without him, and fighting upon equal terms with Archelaus. But immediately upon his appearance, his men exerted themſelves with ſuch vigour, that they routed the enemy, and purſued them flying in a diſorderly manner towards the river and Mount Acontium.

After this Sylla haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Muræna, and finding that he had likewiſe on his part overthrown Taxiles, he joined him in the purſuit. Many Barbarians were ſlain on the ſpot, and many more cut in pieces as they were making to the camp. Of ſuch infinite numbers, ten thouſand only got ſafe into Chalcis. Sylla writes, that there were but fourteen of his ſoldiers wanting, and that two even of thoſe returned towards evening; for which reaſon he cauſed theſe words to be inſcribed on the trophies erected on that occaſion, *Mars*, *Victory*, *Venus*, in acknowledgment that he was as much obliged to fortune for his ſucceſs, as to his own capacity and the valour of his troops. There were two trophies erected; the firſt, which was for the victory obtained in the plain, was

raiſed in that place where Archelaus firſt turned his back, and fled as far as the banks of the Molus. The other was erected on the top of Mount Thurium, where the Barbarians were firſt ſurpriſed in the beginning of the engagement; and on this was inſcribed in Greek characters, *To the valour of Homoloichus and Anaxidamus.*

In celebration of the victory he exhibited public ſhows at Thebes, where he ordered a theatre to be built for that purpoſe near the fountain of Oedipus *. He ſent for the judges who were to diſpoſe of the prizes out of the neighbouring cities; for he had conceived an implacable hatred againſt the Thebans, and ordered that one moiety of their territories ſhould be conſecrated to Apollo Pythius, and the Olympian Jupiter, and that the revenue ſhould be applied to make good the money he had taken out of their temples.

About this time he was informed that Flaccus, a man of the contrary faction, had been named conſul, and that he had croſſed the Ionian ſea with an army, to act in appearance againſt Mithridates, but in reality againſt himſelf; wherefore he immediately marched with his army towards Theſſaly, in order to meet him. But he was hardly arrived at the city of Melitea before he received advice from all parts, that the countries he had juſt quitted were over-run, and waſted by a royal army not leſs powerful than the former. For Dorilaus arriving at Chalcis with a great fleet (on board of which he brought eighty thouſand of the beſt diſciplined ſoldiers Mithridates had in his army), had made a ſudden incurſion into Bœotia, and ſecured that coaſt, in hopes to bring Sylla to a battle. He would not liſten to the reaſons offered by Archelaus, who endeavoured to diſſuade him; but on

* Pauſanias tells us this fountain was ſo called, becauſe in thoſe waters Oedipus waſhed off the blood with which he was ſtained upon the murder of his father.

the

the contrary he insinuated, that it was impossible so many could have fallen in the late battle without treachery.

However, Sylla returning expeditiously, made it appear to Dorilaus, that Archelaus was a wise man, and had given him good advice, having had sufficient experience of the Roman valour; for Dorilaus, after some small skirmishes with Sylla at Tilphossion, was himself the first who declared against hazarding a battle, and proposed rather by expense of time and treasure to protract the war. Notwithstanding this opinion, the plain of Orchomenus, where they lay encamped, inspired Archelaus with new courage; he thought it an advantageous place for an army to engage in, who were superior to the enemy in horse. For of all the plains in Bœotia, that which joins to Orchomenus is the largest and most beautiful. It is quite open, without any trees, and stretches out as far as the fens in which the river Melas loses itself. Of all the Grecian rivers, this only which arises from under the city of Orchomenus, is deep and navigable from the very head; it increases about the summer-solstice like the Nile, and produces the same sort of plants with that river; but they do not grow so high, nor do they produce any fruit. It runs not far before the main stream loses itself among those obscure and woody marshes; only a small branch of it mingles with the Cephisus, about that place especially where the lake is thought to produce the best reeds for flutes.

Both armies being posted near each other upon this plain, Archelaus lay still; but Sylla began to cast up ditches across from each side, that, if possible, he might exclude the enemies from the firm and open plain, and might force them into the fens. The Barbarians on the other hand, as soon as they were permitted by their commanders, fell furiously upon those employed in that work, and

at the ſame time routed the forces that had been ſent to cover them. When Sylla perceived this, he leaped from his horſe, and ſnatching one of the enſigns, ruſhed through the fugitive ſoldiers upon the enemy, telling them aloud; *For my part, O Romans! I think it glorious to fall here; but as for you, when it ſhall be demanded of you where you abandoned your general, remember you ſay at Orchomenus.* His men rallying again at theſe words, and two cohorts coming to his ſuccour from the right wing, he gave a fierce onſet, and repulſed the enemy. Then retiring a little way back, and refreſhing his men, he came on again to block up the enemies camp, but they again ſallied out in better order than before. Here Diogenes, ſon-in-law to Archelaus, having fought on the right wing with much bravery, died honourably. And the archers being preſſed hard by the Romans, for want of room to make uſe of their bows, took their arrows by handfuls, and uſing them as ſwords, killed many of the Romans. At laſt they were all repulſed and driven back into their camp, where they paſſed the night in great diſtreſs, by reaſon of the ſlain and wounded, of which they had great numbers.

The next day, as ſoon as it was light, Sylla led his men again towards the camp of the enemy, to continue the trenches; and as the Barbarians were drawing out to give him battle, he attacked them, and defeated a large party, whoſe terror being communicated to the reſt, he totally routed them, and took their camp. The marſhes were filled with blood, and the lake with dead bodies; ſo that even at this day there are often found in it bows, helmets, broken cuiraſſes, ſwords, and other arms of the Barbarians buried in the mud, though it is now near two hundred years ſince that battle. Thus much of the actions at Chæronea and Orchomenus.

In the mean time Cinna and Carbo exerciſed the greateſt

greateſt violence and injuſtice to perſons of the higheſt rank and eminence in Rome; and many of them, to avoid that tyranny, repaired to Sylla's camp, as to a ſafe harbour; ſo that in a ſhort time he had a kind of ſenate aſſembled there. Metella likewiſe having with much difficulty conveyed herſelf and children away by ſtealth, brought him word, that his houſe in the city and his villas had been burnt down by his adverſaries, and preſſed him to haſten to the relief and ſuccour of his friends in Rome.

Sylla was undetermined what courſe to take; for, on the one hand, he could not ſuffer his country to remain in the miſerable condition to which it was reduced, nor could he on the other reſolve to leave unfiniſhed ſo important a work as the war againſt Mithridates. Whilſt he was under this dilemma, a certain merchant of Delium, called *Archelaus*, arrived at the camp with a ſecret commiſſion, and ſome promiſing overtures from Archelaus the king's general. Sylla liked the propoſals ſo well as to deſire a ſpeedy conference with Archelaus in perſon, and had a meeting at ſea on that ſide of Delium where the temple of Apollo ſtands. Archelaus began firſt, and propoſed to Sylla to quit his pretenſions to Aſia and Pontus, and to return without delay and extinguiſh the civil war which was breaking out in Rome, offering him upon thoſe conditions on the king's part, to ſupply him with what men, money, and ſhipping he might want. Sylla then propoſed to him to quit Mithridates's ſervice, to proclaim himſelf king in his ſtead, to become a friend and ally to the Romans, and laſtly, to deliver the fleet up to him. When Archelaus profeſſed his abhorrence of ſuch a treaſon, Sylla proceeding, ſaid, *Doſt thou, Archelaus, who art by birth a Cappadocian, the ſlave, or, if thou pleaſeſt, the favourite of a Barbarian prince, doſt thou ſcruple any thing diſhonourable, when it is ſo much*

for thy intereſt? And doſt thou preſume ſo much as to mention treaſon to me, to Sylla, a Roman general? as if thou wert not that Archelaus, who at Chæronea ran away with a handful of men; the wretched remains of a hundred and twenty thouſand; who hid himſelf for two days together in the marſhes of Orchomenus, and at laſt left Bœotia choaked up with heaps of carcaſes. This reſolute anſwer made Archelaus alter his tone, and in a ſuppliant manner deſire Sylla to conſent to a peace with Mithridates; to this Sylla condeſcended, and a peace was concluded upon the following conditions: *That Mithridates ſhould quit Aſia and Paphlagonia, reſtore Bithynia to Nicomedes, Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and pay the Romans two thouſand talents, and deliver up ſeventy of his ſhips with all their rigging: that, on the other hand, Sylla ſhould confirm to him all the reſt of his dominions, and declare him a confederate of the Romans.*

Theſe conditions being agreed to, Sylla retired, marching with his army through Theſſaly and Macedonia, and ſo on to the Helleſpont, taking Archelaus with him, to whom he ſhowed a particular reſpect; ſo that Archelaus falling dangerouſly ill at Lariſſa, Sylla halted there on his account, and had as much care taken of him as if he had been one of his own officers, or his colleague. This gave occaſion to reflect upon the battle at Chæronea, as if it had not been fairly won; and that which ſeemed to juſtify theſe reflections was, that Sylla releaſed all the priſoners taken in the war, who were known to be in any degree of favour with Mithridates; Ariſtion only was removed by poiſon, becauſe he was under the diſpleaſure of Archelaus. But what moſt confirmed the ſuſpicion, was the grant of ten thouſand acres of land in Eubœa to that Cappadocian, and the appellation given him by Sylla, of friend and ally of the Romans. But Sylla in his memoirs wipes off all theſe aſperſions.

Whilſt he lay at Lariſſa, there came to him ambaſſadors

baſſadors from Mithridates, to tell him that their maſter had ratified all the other articles, but that he could not part with Paphlagonia; and as for the article concerning the ſhips, he could by no means conſent to it. Sylla enraged at this, replied, *What! does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphlagonia, and does he refuſe to ratify that article relating to the ſhips? He who I thought would gladly have come and thanked me on his knees if I ſpared him that right hand of his, which has been the death of ſo many Romans. I am ſure he will ſpeak in another tone when once I have ſet my foot in Aſia. In the mean time let him remain in ſafety at Pergamus, and from thence iſſue out his orders for the conduct of a war he never ſaw.*

The ambaſſadors ſtunned with this anſwer made no reply; but Archelaus interceded with Sylla, and ſeizing on his right hand, with tears conjured him to be pacified. He deſired that he might be ſent to Mithridates, being confident that he ſhould be able to bring him to conſent to all the articles; but if he failed of that, he would put an end to his own life. Sylla, relying upon his promiſe, ſent him away; and without loſs of time marched with his army into the country of the Medians, which he laid waſte, and then returned back into Macedonia. Archelaus met him at Philippi, and reported that every thing was ſettled as he would have it; and that Mithridates moſt earneſtly deſired an interview. For Fimbria having murdered Flaccus the conſul, who was in the contrary intereſt, and defeated ſome of Mithridates's commanders, was advancing againſt that prince himſelf. This terrified Mithridates, and made him deſirous of Sylla's friendſhip.

Their interview was at Dardanus, in the country of Troas. Mithridates came thither with two hundred galleys, twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and a great number of armed chariots; whereas Sylla was attended only with four cohorts and

and two hundred horſe. When Mithridates came up, and offered his hand to Sylla, Sylla aſked him if he conſented to a peace upon the conditions ſettled between him and Archelaus? When the king made no reply, *Know you not*, ſaid he, *that it is the buſineſs of ſuppliants to ſpeak firſt, and that it is ſufficient for the victorious to be ſilent?* And when Mithridates, entering upon his plea, began to charge the cauſe of the war, partly on the gods, and partly on the Romans themſelves, he interrupted him, ſaying, *He had heard indeed long ſince from others, and now knew it himſelf for truth, that Mithridates was an able ſpeaker, who, to ſet off ſuch foul and unjuſt practices, wanted not for ſpecious pretences.* Then charging him with the many outrages he had committed, he aſked him once more *if he was willing or no to ratify the treaty?* Mithridates anſwering in the affirmative, Sylla ran up to him, embraced and kiſſed him. After which he introduced Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, the two kings, and reconciled them to Mithridates; who when he had delivered up to Sylla the ſeventy ſhips, and furniſhed him with five hundred archers, ſet ſail for Pontus.

Sylla ſoon found that this peace was in no degree acceptable to the army; the ſoldiers could not bear with patience, that Mithridates, who, of all the kings, had been the moſt bitter enemy to Rome, and had cauſed a hundred and fifty thouſand Romans to be maſſacred in one day throughout Aſia, ſhould return home loaden with ſpoils and plunder, and ſail unmoleſted out of the ports of Aſia, which he had been oppreſſing and pillaging for four years together. But Sylla replied in his own juſtification, that he had not agreed to the peace, but becauſe he was not in a condition to have withſtood Fimbria and Mithridates, if they ſhould have acted in conjunction againſt him.

A few days after this Sylla marched againſt Fimbria, who lay under the walls of Thyatira; and having

having encamped with his forces pretty near him, began to entrench himſelf. Whilſt his men were employed in that work, Fimbria's ſoldiers came to them out of their camp, without their arms, and only in their common military coats, ſaluting them in a friendly manner, and cheerfully aſſiſting them in their labour. Fimbria obſerving this change in his army, and dreading Sylla as his irreconcileable enemy, laid violent hands on himſelf in the camp.

Sylla laid a fine of twenty thouſand talents to be levied upon Aſia in general; beſides which, he exceedingly oppreſſed the inhabitants in particular, giving them up to the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of his ſoldiers, who were quartered upon them. He ordered the maſter of the houſe to allow every ſoldier quartered upon him four tetradrachmas a-day, and every night to provide a ſupper for him, and as many as he ſhould bring with him; and that a centurion ſhould be allowed fifty drachmas a-day, and two robes, one to be worn in the houſe, and the other when he went abroad.

After this he ſet ſail from Epheſus with his whole fleet, and the third day after, anchored in the Piræus. Here he was initiated in the grand myſteries, and ſeized to his own uſe the library of Apellicon the Teian, wherein were moſt of the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus, which were then known but to a few. This library was removed to Rome, where it is ſaid Tyrannion the grammarian corrected many of the books, and that Andronicus the Rhodian having, through his means, the command of divers copies, publiſhed thoſe heads of treatiſes which are now common in every man's hands, under the name of indexes or tables. The ancient Peripatetics were of themſelves indeed men of polite taſte and univerſal learning: but then they had not ſeen many of the works of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus; and thoſe treatiſes they had, ſeen were neither entire nor correct; becauſe the eſtate

eſtate of Neleus of Scepſis, to whom Theophraſtus had bequeathed his books and writings, fell into the hands of idle illiterate people.

During Sylla's ſtay at Athens, a painful numbneſs fell into his feet, which Strabo calls *the firſt liſping of the gout*. Whereupon he was conveyed by ſea to Ædepſus, where he bathed in the hot waters, and at the ſame time diverted himſelf for whole days together in the company of muſicians, dancers, and ſtage-players. As he he was one day walking upon the beach, ſome fiſhermen made him a preſent of a quantity of fine fiſh. Sylla, pleaſed with the compliment, inquired of what country the fiſhermen were; and when he was told that they were of the town of Alæ, *What*, ſaid he, *are any of the Alæans left alive?* For after the battle at Orchomenus, as he was in purſuit of the enemy, he had deſtroyed three cities in Bœotia, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alæ. Theſe words ſo terrified the poor men that they could not ſpeak; which when Sylla obſerved, he ſmiled and told them *they might go away in peace, for they had brought with them mediators whoſe interceſſion was not to be rejected*. From that moment the Alæans took courage, and returned from their diſperſion home to Alæ.

Sylla having marched through Theſſaly and Macedon down to the ſea-coaſt, prepared with twelve hundred veſſels to croſs over from Dyrrachium to Brunduſium. Not far from hence is Apollonia, and near it a ſacred ſpot of ground called *Nymphæum* *, which among flowery dales and meads diſcovers

* Dion has left us a very full deſcription of this place in his forty-firſt book. "Apollonia," ſays he, "a Corinthian colony, is extremely well ſituated, not only with reſpect to the land, but the ſea, and the rivers. That which I found the moſt worthy of remak, is, that floods of fire continually iſſue out of the river Anas, which do not ſpread, nor burn or dry up the places over which they flow. On the contrary, all that part abounds with herbage, trees, and plants, which thrive well, being nouriſhed by the rains that fall and make them grow apace. For this reaſon that place is called *Nymphæum*." Ælian

vers here and there ſprings of fire continually ſtreaming out. Here, they ſay, a ſatyr, ſuch as ſtatuaries and painters repreſent, was found ſleeping, and brought before Sylla, where he was aſked by ſeveral interpreters, who he was, when with much ado he uttered a harſh inarticulate ſound like the neighing of a horſe and bleating of a goat joined together. Sylla, ſhocked at the figure, ordered him to be removed as a monſter offenſive to ſight.

Juſt as he was ready to embark, he began to be apprehenſive that his ſoldiers as ſoon as they were landed would diſband, and return every man to his own habitation. But they all came, and took an oath to ſtand by him to the laſt, and if they could help it, to commit no diſorders in Italy; and when they found he was in want of a large ſum of money, they taxed one another in proportion to their reſpective abilities, and brought him the collection. Sylla would not receive their benevolence, but thanked them for their good-will; and when he had exhorted them to behave themſelves well, he embarked, and, as he tells us himſelf, went to oppoſe fifteen generals of the contrary faction, and four hundred and fifty cohorts.

But the gods by the moſt evident tokens aſſured him of ſucceſs; for as he was ſacrificing at his firſt landing in Tarentum, the liver * ſeemed to have impreſſed upon it the figure of a crown of laurel,

Ælian in his various hiſtory has likewiſe given us a very elegant deſcription of this place; and Strabo ſpeaks of it in his ſeventh book, where he ſays that this *Nymphæum* is a rock out of which fire iſſues, and that beneath it flow ſtreams of flaming bitumen, the ſoil being of a hot bituminous quality. Near it is a hill where there is a mine of bitumen, and whatever is dug out of it is reſtored in time, all the ſoil changing into that ſpecies.

* It is well known what artifices the prieſts made uſe of to make the liver of the victims carry what figures or appearances they pleaſed. They traced out the figures upon the hand, then taking the liver, and holding it very cloſe, they eaſily made the impreſſion upon it whilſt it was warm and pliant.

with two ſtrings hanging down from it. A little before he embarked at Dyrrachium, two large goats were ſeen on the mountain Hephæon * in Campania encountering one another in broad day-light, and performing like men in an engagement. This a phantom, which aſcending by little and little from the earth, diſperſed itſelf in the air by degrees, and at laſt totally diſappeared. Not long after this Sylla was attacked in that very place by young Marius, and Norbanus the conſul, who had brought two powerful armies againſt him; when he, without drawing up his men, or forming any order of battle, overcame them both, merely by the uncommon alacrity and reſolution of his troops, and conſtrained the conſul to ſhut himſelf up in Capua, after the loſs of ſeven thouſand of his ſoldiers. They ſay it was owing to this lucky beginning that his men did not diſband, and return home, but ſtuck cloſe to him, and deſpiſed the enemy, though infinitely ſuperior in number.

At Silvium (as he himſelf relates it) there met him a ſervant of one Pontius, who being ſeized with a divine enthuſiaſm, told him he brought to him ſucceſs and victory from Bellona; and that if he did not make haſte, the capitol would be burnt; which fell out on the ſame day the man had foretold it, the ſixth of the month Quintilis, which we now call *July*.

At Fidentia, Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's commanders, repoſed ſuch confidence in the alacrity and ardour of his ſoldiers, that he ventured to face fifty cohorts of the enemy, with only ſixteen of his own; but as many of them were unarmed, he delayed the onſet. While he ſtood thus in a doubt, and conſidering with himſelf, a gentle gale of wind ſprung from the neighbouring meadows,

* There being no ſuch mountain known, ſome learned men are of opinion that we ſhould read Tiphaton, there being a mountain of that name in Campania.

and

and bearing along with it a great quantity of flowers, dropped them upon the army, where falling caſually they reſted upon the ſhields and helmets of the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that they appeared to their enemies as if they were crowned with garlands. This added to their former eagerneſs and courage; ſo that they charged fiercely upon the enemy, defeated them, killed eighteen thouſand upon the ſpot, and took their camp. This Lucullus was brother to the Lucullus who not long after conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

Sylla ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded with ſo many armies, and ſuch mighty powers, had recourſe to art, inviting Scipio the other conſul to a treaty of peace. The motion was willingly embraced, and ſeveral meetings and conſultations followed, in all which Sylla interpoſing continually matter of delay and new pretences, in the mean while ſeduced Scipio's men by means of his own, who, in ſubtlety and the arts of inveigling, were as well practiſed as the general himſelf. For entering into the enemy's quarters, and mixing with them, they engaged ſome by ready money, ſome by promiſes, others by flattery and perſuaſion; ſo that at laſt, when Sylla with twenty cohorts drew near, they came forth to ſalute him, leaving Scipio behind in his tent, where he was found all alone, and diſmiſſed. Thus Sylla having uſed twenty cohorts as ſtales, to draw in forty more of the enemy, led them all back into the camp. On this occaſion Carbo ſaid, *That having a fox and a lion in the breaſt of Sylla to deal with, he was plagued moſt with the fox.*

Some time after, at Signium, Marius the younger, with eighty-five cohorts, offered battle to Sylla, who was extremely deſirous to have it decided that very day; for the night before he had ſeen a viſion of Marius the elder, who had been dead five or ſix years, adviſing his ſon Marius *to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal conſequence to him.*

For this reaſon Sylla, longing to come to a battle, ſent for Dolabella, who had a ſeparate camp at ſome diſtance from him, to come and join him. The enemy having poſted themſelves between the two camps, and cut off their communication, Sylla's ſoldiers advanced to diſlodge them, and open the paſſage for their comrades. When they were wearied in this ſervice, a violent ſhower of rain fell, and ſtill added to their fatigue. Upon this the officers applied to Sylla, beſeeching him to defer the battle, and repreſenting to him the condition the ſoldiers were in, quite ſpent with labour, and reſting themſelves on their bucklers. With great difficulty he was prevailed upon, and gave orders for an entrenchment to be caſt up before his camp.

The ſoldiers hardly began to break the ground when Marius came up to the very works at the head of his troops, perſuaded that now was the time to ſet upon them, and that he might eaſily diſperſe them in their preſent diſorder. Here fortune took care to have Sylla's viſion fulfilled. For the ſoldiers, inflamed with rage, left the works, and ſticking their javelins on the bank, with drawn ſwords and a courageous ſhout came hand to hand with the enemy, who were ſoon routed, and great numbers of them were cut off in the flight. Marius fled to Prænesſte, where he found the gates ſhut; but faſtening himſelf to a cord, which had been thrown down to him for that purpoſe, he was drawn up, and ſo got into the city.

There are ſome authors, of whom Feneſtella is one, who ſay Marius was ſo far from being in the battle, that he was not ſo much as within the noiſe of it, but that being ſpent with fatigue and watching, he was repoſing himſelf under a tree when the ſignal was given, and fell into ſo ſound a ſleep that his men could hardly wake him when they were in their flight. Sylla ſays he loſt only three and twenty men upon this occaſion, and that he killed of the

the enemy twenty thouſand, and took eight thouſand priſoners.

Sylla was no leſs ſucceſsful by his lieutenants Pompey, Craſſus, Metellus, and Servilius, who with little or no loſs cut off great numbers of the enemy; ſo that the conſul Papirius Carbo, who was the chief ſupport of the contrary party, ſtole from his army by night, and ſailed over into Libya.

The laſt of Sylla's engagements was againſt Teleſinus the Samnite, who entering like a freſh champion into the liſts to engage the conqueror, had almoſt foiled Sylla before the very gates of Rome. This man having drawn together a conſiderable body of forces, and being joined by Lamponius a Lucanian, marched with the utmoſt expedition to relieve Marius, who was beſieged in Præneſte. But perceiving Sylla marching againſt him to attack him in the front, and Pompey ready to fall upon his rear, and that he could not move backwards nor forwards without running a great riſk, like a good ſoldier, and experienced officer, he decamped in the night, and marched directly to Rome, which would have been no difficult matter for him to have entered at once, for it was in no condition of making a defence. But when he was within ten furlongs of the Colline gate, he thought it ſufficient to remain that night under the walls, valuing himſelf much upon the thoughts of having outwitted two ſuch generals as Sylla and Pompey, and not doubting but the end would be anſwerable to ſo glorious a beginning.

At break of day all the youth of the firſt rank in Rome ſallied out upon him; of whom many were ſlain, particularly Appius Claudius, a perſon of great virtue, and of a very noble family. By this time Rome, as it may eaſily be imagined, was in the utmoſt conſternation; a general fright had ſeized the inhabitants, and the ſtreets were fill-

ed with women ſhrieking and lamenting, as if the city was then taken, and they in the hands of the enemy. Whilſt affairs were in this poſture, Balbus, who had been detached by Sylla, arrived at the head of ſeven hundred horſe. He had rid hard, and halted only till the horſes could be rubbed down and new bridled, and then immediately fell upon the enemy. At that inſtant Sylla himſelf appeared; and as ſoon as they who were firſt advanced had had a little time to refreſh themſelves, he drew up in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus earneſtly preſſed him to delay the engagement, and not to expoſe his troops haraſſed and ſpent as they were, to ſo great danger, when all lay at hazard. They adviſed him to conſider that he had not now a Marius or a Carbo to deal with, but the Lucanians and Samnites, two of the moſt warlike nations in all Italy, and profeſſed enemies to the Romans. Sylla would not liſten to them, but commanded the trumpets to ſound the charge, though it was then late in the day, about four in the afternoon. In this engagement, which was the ſharpeſt of any that had happened during the whole courſe of the war, the wing wherein Craſſus commanded had greatly the advantage; but the left was very much diſtreſſed, and hardly maintained its ground; whereupon Sylla haſtened thither, mounted on a white horſe full of mettle, and exceedingly fleet. Two of the enemy, knowing him by his equipage, levelled their darts at him. This was unperceived by Sylla; but his groom obſerved them, and gave his horſe a laſh, which made him ſpring forwards, ſo that the darts juſt grazed upon his tail, and fell into the ground at ſome diſtance from him. It is ſaid that he had a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphi, and conſtantly wore in his boſom in all engagements; that in this action he kiſſed it with much devotion; and addreſſed himſelf to it in theſe words:

words: *O Pythian Apollo, thou who haſt given Cornelius Sylla the victory in ſo many engagements, and raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of glory, haſt thou at laſt brought him before the gates of Rome, there to fall ignominiouſly with his fellow-citizens?*

Having thus implored the aſſiſtance of Apollo, ſome of his men he entreated, others he threatened, and others he endeavoured to ſtop by force. But when he found all was to no purpoſe, and that the left wing was entirely broken and routed, he with the reſt fled to the camp, after having loſt many of his friends, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable officers in the army. A great many of the citizens likewiſe, who were come out to be ſpectators of the fight, were trodden under foot; ſo that Rome was given up for loſt, and thoſe who were left behind to beſiege Marius in Præneſte, were upon the point of raiſing the ſiege. For ſeveral of the fugitives poſted thither, and importuned Lucretius Ofella, who commanded there, to retire, telling him that Sylla was killed, and Rome in the hands of the enemy. But that very night when it was late, ſome meſſengers arrived in the camp from Craſſus, who deſired Sylla to ſend him and his ſoldiers ſomething for ſupper; for that having defeated the enemy, and purſued them as far as Antemna, he was now encamped there.

Sylla receiving this intelligence, and hearing beſides that moſt of the enemy fell in the action, marched to Antemna the next morning as ſoon as it was light. Upon his approach three thouſand of the enemy ſent their heralds to demand quarter. He promiſed them ſecurity, provided, before they ſurrendered themſelves, they did ſome conſiderable miſchief to thoſe they left behind. They, truſting to his word, fell upon their comrades, ſo that many of them fell by the hands of one another. But Sylla having aſſembled all that remained, as well of the three thouſand as of the reſt, to the number of

ſix thouſand, confined them in the Circus, and ſummoned the ſenate to meet in the temple of Bellona. Juſt as he was beginning to make a ſpeech, his ſoldiers, who had orders for that purpoſe, maſſacred thoſe ſix thouſand wretches. The outcries of ſo many men butchered in ſo ſtrait a place muſt neceſſarily be exceeding great; the ſenators were greatly alarmed; but Sylla continuing his diſcourſe with the ſame unconcern, and compoſure in his countenance with which he had begun it, bid them *attend to what he was ſaying, and not concern themſelves with what was doing without doors; that the noiſe they heard was occaſioned only by ſome offenders he had ordered to be chaſtiſed.*

Theſe words made the moſt ſtupid and unthinking of the Romans clearly ſee that they were ſtill under the tyranny, though they had changed the tyrant; but there was this difference; Marius was by nature of a moroſe cruel temper, ſo that power did not give him that diſpoſition, but only aggravated and exaſperated it in him; whereas Sylla, who at firſt uſed his good fortune with moderation and humanity, and had given hopes that in him the nobility would find a friend, and the people a protector; who from his youth had been inclined to mirth and good humour, and was of ſo compaſſionate a temper that he had been often ſeen to weep even upon ſlight occaſions, was now on a ſudden become inhuman and cruel. This unexpected change caſt a blemiſh upon exalted honours and fortunes, as if they would not ſuffer perſons who had attained them to preſerve their native mildneſs and benignity, but engendered in their minds pride, arrogance, inſolence, and inhumanity. But whether this be a real change of nature introduced by a change of fortune, or rather a diſcovery of a natural corruption and depravity, which lies concealed till it has countenance and protection from

from honours and authority, is a ſubject proper for writings of another nature.

Sylla being thus bent upon ſlaughter, filled Rome with murders without number and without end. Many there were, who, though they never had any dealings with him, fell a ſacrifice to private grudge and reſentment; for he gratified his friends and domeſtics with the blood of thoſe they hated. Whereupon a young Roman, named *Caius Metellus*, had the courage to aſk him one day in a full ſenate, *What end ſhall we have of our calamities, and where doſt thou intend to ſtop? We do not intercede for ſuch as thou haſt reſolved to deſtroy; we only deſire thee to free thoſe from their uneaſineſs, whom thou haſt determined to ſave.* Sylla anſwering, *that he knew not yet whom he ſhould ſpare*; *Why then*, ſaid Metellus, *name to us thoſe thou haſt determined to deſtroy. That I will do*, replied Sylla. But ſome ſay that thoſe laſt words were not ſpoken by Metellus, but by Aufidius one of Sylla's flatterers.

Sylla in the firſt placed proſcribed fourſcore citizens without communicating it to any of the magiſtrates; and when he ſaw that raiſed the indignation of every one, he gave them one day's reſpite; he then proſcribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the day following. Soon after this he made a ſpeech to the people, wherein he told them *he had proſcribed as many as he could think of at preſent, and as for thoſe he had forgot, they ſhould be proſcribed afterwards.* If any man gave ſhelter to a perſon proſcribed, death was the certain reward of his humanity, though he had ſaved his ſon, his brother, or his father. Whereas an aſſaſſin received a recompenſe of two talents, though a ſlave had killed his maſter, or a ſon murdered his father. But what was moſt unjuſt of all, he declared the children and grandchildren of thoſe whom he had proſcribed, infamous, and confiſcated their eſtates. Nor were theſe proſcriptions confined to Rome

Rome only, but extended to every city and town throughout Italy, where the effuſion of blood was ſuch, that neither the temples of the gods, nor the houſe of a friend or a father afforded any ſecurity. Men were butchered in the embraces of their wives, children in the arms of their mothers. Yet thoſe who were ſacrificed to hatred and reſentment, were nothing in compariſon of the numbers of thoſe who ſuffered for their riches. The aſſaſſins ſometimes ſaid, *A fine houſe killed this man, a garden that, a third his hot baths.* Quintus Aurelius, a quiet peaceable man, and one who thought it his duty to bear a part in the common calamity, ſo far as to condole the misfortunes of others, coming one day into the forum, and among the names of thoſe who were proſcribed ſeeing his own, cried out, *Alas! my Alban eſtate has informed againſt me.* He had not gone far, before he was diſpatched by a ruffian ſent on that errand.

In the mean time Marius *, being taken, immediately killed himſelf. Sylla, at his firſt coming to Prænesſte, proceeded judicially againſt each particular perſon; till at laſt, finding that a work of too much time, he ſhut them up all together in one place, to the number of twelve thouſand men, and gave a general order for their execution. He was pleaſed to except one who was his hoſt out of the number, and offered him his life; but the man with great magnanimity told him, *he ſcorned to owe his ſafety to the murderer of his country*; and ſo mixing among the other victims, he died voluntarily with his fellow-citizens. But Sylla's favour to Catiline was of a ſtrange and uncommon nature. He had killed his own brother before the concluſion of the

* He was not actually taken; but as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape through a ſubterraneous paſſage, he found himſelf encompaſſed on every ſide by Sylla's troops, who were poſted to apprehend him; ſo that finding it impoſſible to get clear of them, he commanded one of his ſlaves that attended him to kill him, which he did accordingly.

civil

civil wars, and now entreated Sylla to put his brother among the proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill alive; to this Sylla readily conſented, and Catiline in return for ſuch a favour went immediately, and murdered one Marcus Marius, who had been of the contrary party, and bringing his head publicly into the forum, preſented it to Sylla as he was on the tribunal. After which he went and waſhed his hands in the holy water placed at the gate of Apollo's temple, which ſtood near *.

Theſe aſſaſſinations were not the only ſubjects of affliction. Sylla named and declared himſelf dictator, and ſo revived an office that had been diſuſed for a hundred and twenty years together. He procured an act of oblivion to be paſſed in his own favour, and another veſting him for the future with the power of life and death, of confiſcations, of tranſplanting of colonies, of erecting and demoliſhing of cities, of taking away and beſtowing kingdoms at pleaſure. He put up the confiſcated eſtates to public ſale, at which he preſided himſelf with the utmoſt pride and inſolence. His gratuities were even more burdenſome and oppreſſive than his uſurpations; for he ſquandered away the revenues of whole cities and provinces upon lewd women, muſicians, mimics, and ſlaves who had been made free; nay, he forced women againſt their inclination to marry ſome of theſe wretches. Being reſolved to unite Pompey to him by the bands of affinity, he obliged him to divorce his wife, and marry Æmilia the daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella; and though ſhe was big with child,

* The Heathens had veſſels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water which they called holy, where ſuch as intended to go into the temple, waſhed their hands by way of purification. They likewiſe ſprinkled it on the aſſembly to cleanſe them from their impurities. An excluſion from the uſe and benefit of this luſtral water was looked upon by the Greeks as a ſort of excommunication. For this reaſon Oedipus, in the firſt ſcene of the ſecond act in Sophocles, prohibits thoſe who had been guilty of the death of Laius from the uſe of it.

he

he forced her from her huſband Manius Glabrio; but ſhe died in childbed in the houſe of Pompey her ſecond huſband.

When Lucretius Ofella, the ſame who had beſieged Marius in Prænesſte, put up for the conſulſhip, he firſt ordered him to drop his pretenſions. But when he ſaw, that, depending much upon the good-will and inclinations of the people, he ſtill perſiſted, he command one of the centurions, who attended him, to go and kill him; while he in the mean time ſat on his tribunal in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, and from thence beheld the murder. The people immediately ſeized the centurion, and hurried him before Sylla, demanding juſtice againſt him. Sylla commanded them to be ſilent, and releaſe him, telling them that what he had done was by his expreſs order.

His triumph, though it was rendered extremely magnificent by the royal ſpoils, which were pleaſing on account both of their richneſs and novelty, yet was rendered ſtill more ſplendid and delightful by the proceſſion of the exiles. For ſeveral of the moſt eminent and powerful of the citizens followed the chariot of Sylla, crowned with garlands, and calling him *Saviour and Father*, by whoſe means they were reſtored to their country, to their wives and children. When the ſolemnity was over, and the time come to render an account of his actions in a public aſſembly, he was as punctual in enumerating the lucky chances of war, as any of his own military virtues. And from his felicity it was, that he choſe to be ſurnamed *Felix*. In his addreſſes and anſwers to the Grecians, he ſtyled himſelf *Epaphroditus*, or *beloved of Venus*. His trophies which are ſtill extant with us, bear this inſcription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife brought forth twins, he named the male *Fauſtus*, and the female *Fauſta*; by which words the Romans underſtand *fortunate*. But the ſtrongeſt proof

of

of his placing a much greater confidence in his good fortune, than in any of his exploits, is, that after having murdered ſo many Romans, after having introduced ſo many monſtrous innovations and changes in the ſtate, he, notwithſtanding all this, laid down his authority, and reſtored the right of conſular elections to the people. So that he not only came abroad, but in the forum expoſed his perſon publicly to the people, walking up and down as a private man. When, contrary to his inclination, Marcus Lepidus a bold enterpriſing man, and one of his enemies, was likely to be nominated conſul, not by his own intereſt, but at the ſolicitation of Pompey, who was in great favour with the people, Sylla ſeeing Pompey come out of the aſſembly overjoyed with his ſucceſs, took him aſide, and ſaid to him, *You have managed well, young man, to get Lepidus named conſul before Catulus, the very worſt and fooliſheſt of men, before the wiſeſt and beſt. You muſt be vigilant now, for you have rendered your enemy more powerful than yourſelf.* What Sylla foretold to Pompey on this occaſion proved true in the event. For ſoon after Lepidus behaved with the greateſt inſolence, and came to an open rapture with Pompey.

Sylla conſecrated the tenths of his whole ſubſtance to Hercules, and upon that occaſion regaled the people with moſt magnificent entertainments, wherein there was ſuch profuſion of proviſions, that they were every day forced to throw great quantities of the fragments into the Tiber; and the wine he gave them was upwards of forty years old. In the midſt of this jollity, which laſted many days, Metella died. The prieſts having forbidden him to viſit the ſick, or ſuffer his houſe to be polluted with mourning during the ſolemnity, he ſent her a bill of divorce, juſt as ſhe was expiring, and cauſed her to be removed into another houſe. In this he was a moſt punctual and ſuperſtitious obſerver

ſerver of the law; but he broke through a law he himſelf had made for the regulating of funeral expenſes, for he ſpared no coſts on that occaſion. He likewiſe violated his own ſumptuary laws which were deſigned to retrench the exceſſive prodigality of the Romans in their meals; for he ſpent his whole time in drinking and revelling, endeavouring by luxury and debauch to comfort himſelf in his affliction.

Some few months after he entertained the people with a ſhow of gladiators. In thoſe days the theatre was not divided into diſtinct lodges, but men and women ſat promiſcuouſly together. It happened at that time that a young lady very beautiful, and of the firſt quality, ſat near Sylla: ſhe was the daughter of Meſſala, and ſiſter to Hortenſius the orator; her name was *Valeria*, and ſhe had juſt then been divorced from her huſband. Coming behind Sylla, ſhe reſted her hand gently upon him, took a little of the nap from off his robe, and then returned to her ſeat. When ſhe found Sylla had obſerved her, and ſeemed to wonder at her behaviour, ſhe ſaid, *I meant no harm, Sir, but I was deſirous to partake a little of your fortune.*

Sylla was not in the leaſt diſpleaſed with this anſwer; on the contrary, he ſeemed to be much delighted with it; for he ſent privately to find out her name, family, circumſtances, and character. From that time they were continually ogling each other, receiving and returning amorous glances, and ſmiles. At laſt, a marriage was agreed upon, and articles were ſigned between them. In all which Valeria perhaps may be thought to have done nothing unbecoming her; but the ſame could not be ſaid of Sylla; for though the lady was virtuous, and of a very illuſtrious family, his deſire to marry her aroſe from motives not wiſe, nor honourable. Like a young man without experience or diſcretion, he was captivated with a few amorous

rous glances, and alluring airs, which uſually kindle in the heart paſſions the moſt ignominious and brutal.

Notwithſtanding this marriage, he ſtill kept company with actors, actreſſes, and ſingers, drinking with them night and day. His chief favourites were, Roſcius the comedian, Sorex the chief mimic, and Metrobius an actor of female characters *, for whom, though paſt his prime, he ever profeſſed a great kindneſs. By theſe courſes he increaſed a diſeaſe which had its beginning from a ſlight cauſe. It was long before he perceived that he had an ulcer within his body; but at laſt the fleſh putrefied, and produced ſuch a quantity of lice, that though many perſons were employed day and night in deſtroying them, yet they increaſed much faſter than they could be removed; and to ſuch a degree did the diſtemper prevail, that his cloaths, baths, baſons, and food were polluted with that perpetual flux of corruption and vermin. He went many times in the day into the water, to ſcour and cleanſe his body, but all in vain; the vermin multiplied ſo faſt as to baffle every attempt to deſtroy them. It is ſaid that among the ancients there died of this diſeaſe Acaſtus the ſon of Pelias, and nearer our own times, Alcman the poet, Pherecydes the philoſopher, Calliſthenes the Olynthian † during the time of his impriſonment, and Mutius the lawyer ‡; and if it be fit to add to theſe a perſon not diſtinguiſhed by any merit or virtue, Eunus, a fugitive ſlave, who was author of the

* We learn from Athenæus the proper ſignification of the word λυσιῳδὸς, which Plutarch makes uſe of in this place. For he ſays that acording to Arioſtoxenus the Greeks called μαγῳδὸν the player who performed mens parts in a woman's dreſs, and λυσιῳδὸν him who acted womens parts in a man's habit.

† Some account of Calliſthenes is given in the life of Alexander.

‡ Speuſippus the philoſopher is not mentioned here. But Diogenes Laertius quotes Plutarch as ſaying in the life of Sylla that Speuſippus died of this diſtemper.

war in Sicily called the *ſervile war*, and who was taken, and carried priſoner to Rome, died likewiſe of this ſickneſs.

Sylla not only foreſaw his end, but alſo writ ſomewhat concerning it; for in the twenty-ſecond book of his memoirs, which he finiſhed about two days before his death, he writes that the Chaldeans foretold to him, that after he had led a life of honour, he ſhould conclude it in full proſperity. He declares beſides, that in a dream he had ſeen his ſon, (who died not long before Metella), ſtanding by him in a mourning habit, and bidding him *ceaſe from all his cares, and come along with him to his mother Metella, to live in peace and repoſe with her*. However, he could not refrain from intermeddling in public affairs; for but ten days before his deceaſe, he interpoſed in the diſputes the inhabitants of Puteoli had among themſelves, reconciled the contending parties, and preſcribed laws for their better government. Nay, the very day before he died, upon an information that Granius the quæſtor delayed paying the ſums due from him to the public, in hopes to be indemnified by Sylla's death, he ſent for him into his bedchamber, where he ordered his ſervants to ſtrangle him in his preſence; but ſtraining his voice in the eagerneſs of his paſſion, he broke his impoſthume, and voided a great deal of blood. This diſcharge made him ſo weak and faint, that after he had paſſed the night in violent pain, he died the day following, leaving behind him two children very young which he had by Metella. Valeria was afterwards delivered of a daughter, named *Poſthuma*; for ſo the Romans call thoſe who are born after the death of the father.

A great number of people ran tumultuouſly together, and joined with Lepidus the conſul to deprive the corpſe of the accuſtomed ſolemnities; but Pompey, though offended at Sylla, (for he alone of all his friends was left out of his will), having kept

kept off ſome by kind words and entreaties, and others by menaces, ſecured the body, and gave it an honourable burial. It is ſaid, that the Roman ladies threw on ſuch vaſt heaps of ſpices, that, beſide what was contained in two hundred and ten veſſels, there was ſufficient to make a large figure of Sylla with a lictor attending him, out of the coſtly frankincenſe and cinnamon. The day being cloudy in the morning, they deferred carrying forth the corpſe till about three in the afternoon, expecting it would rain; but a ſtrong wind blowing full againſt the funeral pile, raiſed ſo ſtrong a flame, that his body was conſumed immediately. As the pile ſhrunk down, and the fire was juſt expiring, a heavy ſhower fell, and it continued raining till night; ſo that his good fortune continued even to the laſt, and did as it were officiate at his funeral. His monument ſtands in the Campus Martius, with an epitaph of his own writing, containing in ſubſtance, *that no friend of his ever did him ſo much good, or enemy ſo much harm, but he returned both with uſury.*

The Compariſon of LYSANDER with SYLLA.

HAving thus gone through the life of Sylla, let us now draw a compariſon between the Grecian and the Roman. That which was common to them both, was, that they were both founders of their own greatneſs, with this difference, that Lyſander obtained his honours with the conſent of the citizens in peaceable times, that he neither extorted any thing from them againſt their will, nor ſought to raiſe himſelf above the laws; whereas.

When civil broils the ſtate infeſt,
The greateſt villains thrive the beſt;

as it happened then at Rome, when the people were corrupted, and the government diſtempered, ſo that the ſupreme power was continually paſſing from one hand to another. No wonder then if Sylla reigned, when the Glauciæ and Saturnini drove out the Metelli, when the ſons of conſuls were ſlain in the aſſemblies, when ſoldiers were hired, and whole armies bought and ſold with gold and ſilver, and when laws in defiance of all oppoſition were eſtabliſhed by ſword and fire.

I do not ſay this to blame any man who in the times of ſuch public diſtraction works himſelf into authority, but to ſhow that, in a ſtate ſo diſordered, he that is the moſt powerful is not always the moſt virtuous. But Lyſander being employed in the greateſt military commands, and in the moſt important affairs of ſtate, by a ſober and well-diſciplined city, muſt have been eſteemed the beſt and moſt virtuous man, in the beſt and moſt virtuous commonwealth. Wherefore Lyſander often returning the government into the hands of the citizens, received it again as often; for his virtue, by which he obtained that honour and pre-eminence, always remained the ſame. Sylla on the other hand, when he had once got the command of the army, held it for ten years together, being ſometimes conſul, ſometimes proconſul, and ſometimes dictator, but always a tyrant. It is true, Lyſander, as we have obſerved, endeavoured to introduce a new form of government, in a method, however, more mild and more agreeable to juſtice, than Sylla; not by force of arms, but perſuaſion; not by ſubverting the whole ſtate at once, but by directing and regulating the ſucceſſion of the kings. And by nature it ſeems juſt, that the moſt deſerving ſhould rule, eſpecially in a city which itſelf preſided in Greece, not on account of nobility, but virtue. For as the hunter does not value his hound merely for the ſake of his breed, nor the

jocky

jocky his foal, (for what if the foal ſhould prove a mule)? but becauſe they do not degenerate from their breed; ſo that man would err extremely in politics, who in the choice of a chief magiſtrate ſhould inquire, not what the man is, but how deſcended. The very Spartans themſelves have depoſed ſeveral of their kings, becauſe they wanted kingly virtues, and were degenerate and worthleſs. A depraved nature, though of a noble ſtock, is diſhonourable; but virtue is honourable even without the advantages of birth.

Both of them were guilty of many acts of violence and injuſtice; but the one committed them for the ſake of his friends; whereas the other committed them upon his friends. It cannot be denied that Lyſander ſtuck at nothing where his friends or creatures were concerned; and that he often dipped his hands in blood merely to make them kings and tyrants. Whereas Sylla, out of envy and jealouſy, endeavoured to deprive Pompey of his command in the army, and Dolabella of the command of the fleet, though he had himſelf conferred it on him; and becauſe Lucretius Oſella, who had done him many ſervices, put up for the conſulſhip againſt his will, he cauſed him to be murdered before his own eyes, raiſing an inexpreſſible dread and horror in the minds of all men, when they ſaw him thus cruel to his own friends and adherents.

Their different behaviour with reſpect to riches and pleaſure, was in the one that of a good and juſt prince, in the other that of a tyrant. For Lyſander, in his full range of power and authority, did nothing that was intemperate or extravagant, but kept at as great a diſtance as ever any man did from that proverb, *Lions at home, in public foxes*; ſo temperate was he, ſo truly Spartan in his life and manners. Whereas nothing could reſtrain Sylla, or keep him within bounds, neither poverty in his youth, nor gravity in his old age. Whilſt he was

preſcribing to the Romans the beſt laws in the world concerning continence and ſobriety, he indulged himſelf, as Salluſt writes, in open lewdneſs and debauchery. By theſe ways he had ſo impoveriſhed the city, and drained it of its treaſures, that he was forced to ſell for money to the cities that were in friendſhip and alliance with the Romans, the privilege of governing themſelves by their own laws; though at the ſame time he daily expoſed the wealthieſt and greateſt families to public ſale. The ſums he ſquandered upon his flatterers were immenſe. For how could any moderation or frugality be expected in his private entertainments, and in his liberality to his companions, when in the face of the people, and in open court, where he had cauſed one of the beſt eſtates in Rome to be put up to auction, he would have adjudged it to a friend for an inconſiderable price, and becauſe another bid higher, and the officer made proclamation of the advance, he broke out into a paſſion, and complained to the citizens, *that it was barbarous and tyrannical in them, not to allow him the liberty of diſpoſing of his own booty as he pleaſed?*

How different was this from Lyſander's behaviour, who ſent to Sparta not only the money and ſpoils he had taken, but even the preſents that had been made to him? I would not however be thought to commend this action of Lyſander; for perhaps he did Sparta more harm by his liberality, than Sylla did Rome by his rapine; I only make uſe of it as an argument to prove his contempt of riches. There was ſomething very ſingular in each of them with reſpect to their country. Sylla, who was himſelf a moſt profligate libertine, however made the Romans ſober and temperate; whereas Lyſander infected Sparta with vices to which he was an utter ſtranger; ſo that they were both to blame, the one for being worſe than his own laws; the other for rendering his citizens worſe than himſelf; for Ly-

ſander

ſander taught Sparta to want thoſe things which himſelf had learned not to want. And thus much of their civil adminiſtration.

As for military expeditions and engagements, hazardous enterpriſes, and numbers of victories; Sylla is ſo much ſuperior, that there is no room for compariſon. Lyſander indeed obtained the victory in two naval fights, to which may be added the taking of Athens; though that was a work of greater fame than difficulty. But then as to his conduct in Bœotia, and at Haliartus, though his ill ſucceſs may partly be aſcribed to fortune, yet he ſeems chargeable with indiſcretion and temerity; when without waiting for the king's forces, which were then almoſt at hand from Platææ, and giving way to the tranſports of anger and ambition, he unſeaſonably approached the walls, and was miſerably defeated by a ſally of a handful of men. He did not fall like Cleombrotus, who was ſlain whilſt he was glorioufly making head againſt an impetuous enemy at Leuctra, not like Cyrus, nor Epaminondas, who received a mortal wound whilſt he was rallying his men, and ſecuring to them the victory. Theſe great men died the death of kings and commanders. Whereas he, like ſome common ſoldier, or one of the forlorn hope, caſt away his life inglorioufly, giving this teſtimony to the ancient Spartans, that they did well to avoid ſtorming of walls, in which the ſtouteſt man may chance to fall by the hand, not only of an abject fellow, but by that of a boy or woman, as they ſay Achilles was ſlain in the gates of Troy by the hands of Paris. As for Sylla, it would be hard to reckon up how many pitched battles he won, or how many thouſands he ſlew. He took Rome itſelf twice, and forced the haven of Piræus, not by famine, as Lyſander did, but by ſeveral ſharp encounters, and by driving out Archelaus from the land to the ſea. If we conſider the enemies they both had to deal with, we ſhall find

find the difference ſtill greater between them. Lyſander's naval victory near Samos, wherein he defeated Antiochus, who was no better than Alcibiades's pilot, was little more than a mock fight; nor could his circumventing of Philocles the Athenian orator,

A man unknown but for his bitter tongue,

add much to his renown; for either of theſe, Antiochus or Philocles, Mithridates would have ſcorned to compare with one of his equerries, or Marius with one of his lictors. Whereas without enumerating all the kings, princes, conſuls, prætors, generals, and tribunes whom Sylla had to contend with; who was there ever amongſt the Romans ſo formidable as Marius? What king more powerful than Mithridates? Who of the Italians more brave than Lamponius and Teleſinus? Yet of theſe, the firſt he drove into baniſhment, the ſecond he ſubdued, and ſlew the others.

But that which in my opinion is beyond all that has been hitherto ſaid, is, that Lyſander obtained none of his victories without the aſſiſtance of his country; whereas Sylla, baniſhed as he was, and perſecuted by his enemies, his wife being thruſt out of doors, his houſe burnt, and his friends murdered, fought in Bœotia againſt an innumerable army of Barbarians, expoſed his perſon to the moſt imminent dangers in the ſervice of his country, overthrew the enemy, and erected a trophy. And when Mithridates courted his friendſhip and alliance, and offered him men and money to enable him to oppoſe his enemies; he would not ſo much as give him a kind word or look, or ſhow him the leaſt civility, till he himſelf had promiſed to quit Aſia, to deliver up his fleet, and ſurrender Bithynia and Cappadocia to their lawful princes: than which Sylla never performed a more honourable, or more magnanimous action; for preferring the public

public good to his private intereſt, he, like a dog of a generous breed, never quitted his hold till his enemy had confeſſed himſelf conquered; and then he ſet about revenging his private injuries.

We may judge of the manners of both from their different behaviour at Athens. Sylla having made himſelf maſter of it at a time when the Athenians were at war againſt him in favour of Mithridates, and for the increaſe of his power and greatneſs, nevertheleſs reſtored her to her liberty, and the free exerciſe of her own laws. Lyſander on the contrary, though he found her fallen from the higheſt dignity and power, was ſo far from pitying her in her diſtreſs, that he deſtroyed the popular government, and enſlaved her to the moſt cruel and unjuſt of tyrants. To conclude, it ſeems to me that our determination will not be far from the truth, if we ſay that Sylla performed more great actions, and that Lyſander committed fewer faults; and if we give to one the pre-eminence for moderation and abſtinence, to the other for conduct and valour.

THE

THE LIFE OF CIMON.

PEripoltas the diviner, who brought King Opheltas and thoſe under his command from Theſſaly into Bœotia, left behind him a family which flouriſhed for many generations *. Moſt of his deſcendents inhabited Chæronea, which was the firſt city wherein they ſettled after they had expelled the Barbarians. But as they were all of them men of courage and warlike inclinations, they fell in the wars againſt the Medes, and the encounters with the Gauls, behaving themſelves on all occaſions with undaunted courage and reſolution.

There was left one orphan of this houſe, called *Damon*, ſurnamed *Peripoltas*, for beauty and greatneſs of ſpirit ſurpaſſing all of his age, but of a fierce and untractable temper. When he was paſt the years of childhood, a Roman captain of a cohort that wintered in Chæronea, fell in love with him; but as he could not obtain his infamous deſires,

* This is an obſcure piece of hiſtory, of which we cannot find the ſmalleſt footſteps. This tranſmigration of Opheltas into Bœotia muſt neceſſarily have been many ages before the Trojan war; becauſe in that war we find Pelius the father of one Opheltas, at the head of the Bœotians. This Opheltas II. had a ſon named *Ptolemy*, whoſe ſon was Xanthus, the laſt king that reigned in Thebes.

either

either by gifts or entreaties, it was much feared that he would proceed to violence. The ſuſpicion was made more probable by the contemptible condition of Chæronea, which was then extremely weak and poor. Damon being apprehenſive of further injury, and reſenting the attempts that had been already made, determined to kill the officer. Accordingly he engaged fifteen of his companions to join with him; for he would not communicate his deſign to a greater number, leſt it might be diſcovered. They having daubed their faces with ſoot in the night-time, and having drank largely, fell upon the officer by break of day, as he was ſacrificing in the market-place; and having killed him, and not a few of thoſe that were him, they fled out of the city, which was extremely alarmed and troubled at the murder. The council aſſembled immediately, and pronounced ſentence of death againſt Damon and all his accomplices. This they did to juſtify the city to the Romans. But, that evening, as the magiſtrates were at ſupper together, according to cuſtom, Damon and his confederates breaking into the room, killed them all, and then again fled out of the town. About this time, Lucius Lucullus paſſed that way with his forces upon ſome expedition; and this diſaſter having but newly happened, he ſtaid to examine the matter. Upon inquiry he found the citizens were not in fault, but rather that they themſelves had been ſufferers; therefore he drew out the ſoldiers, and carried them away with him. Yet Damon continuing to ravage the country all about, the citizens by meſſages and decrees, in appearance favourable, enticed him into the city, and upon his return made him gymnaſiarch, or maſter of the exerciſes; but afterward as he was anointing himſelf with oil in a bath, they ſet upon him and killed him. For a long while after apparitions were ſeen, and lamentable groans heard

heard in that place, (as our fathers have told us), for which reaſon the gates of the bath were ordered to be cloſed up: and even to this day thoſe who live near that place, affirm, that they ſometimes ſee the ſame ſpectres, and hear the ſame lamentations. The poſterity of that family (of which ſome remain in the country of Phocis, near the city of Stiris), are called, according to the Æolic dialect, *Aſbolomenoi*, that is, men daubed with ſoot; becauſe Damon was beſmeared with ſoot when he committed that murder.

But there being a quarrel betwixt the Chæroneans and the Orchomenians, who bordered upon them, the Orchomenians hired an informer, a Roman, to accuſe the community of Chæronea, as if it had been a ſingle perſon, of the murder which Damon had committed. Accordingly the proceſs was formed, and the cauſe pleaded before the prætor of Macedon; for as yet the Romans had not ſent prætors into Greece. The advocates for the inhabitants, appealed to the teſtimony of Lucullus, who, in anſwer to a letter the prætor wrote to him, returned a true account of the matter of fact. By this means the city was cleared of the accuſation, when in danger of utter deſtruction. The citizens who were then preſerved, erected a ſtatue to Lucullus in the forum, next to that of the god Bacchus. We alſo have the ſame ſentiments of gratitude, and though removed at the diſtance of ſeveral generations, think ourſelves partakers of this benefit. And as, in our opinion, the deſcription of the character and manners exhibits a nobler image of a man, than that which repreſents the form of his body and the features of his face, we ſhall add the life of Lucullus to thoſe of other illuſtrious men, and ſtill adhere ſtrictly to the truth. It is ſufficient to ſhow that we preſerve a grateful remembrance of his kindneſs: and he himſelf would not expect, that we ſhould recompenſe

penſe that ſervice which conſiſted in ſpeaking the truth with a falſe and counterfeit narration. For as we chuſe that a painter who is to draw a beautiful face, in which there is yet ſome imperfection, ſhould neither wholly leave out, nor entirely expreſs what is faulty, becauſe this would deform it, and that ſpoil the reſemblance; ſo ſince it is very hard, or rather impoſſible, to find a man whoſe life is wholly free from blemiſh, let us in the ſame manner follow truth, deſcribing fully whatever is commendable; and if any errors occur, which have been occaſioned by the emotions of a ſudden paſſion, or the neceſſity of the times, let us look upon them rather as defects of virtue, than as vices, and carry the pencil gently over them, out of reſpect to human nature, which never formed a beautiful object that was complete and faultleſs, nor a virtuous character that was entirely free from blame. Conſidering with myſelf to whom I ſhould compare Lucullus, I find none ſo exactly his parallel as Cimon.

They were both valiant in war, ſucceſsful againſt the Barbarians, mild in their political adminiſtration. Both extinguiſhed the civil broils at home, and gained ſignal victories abroad. For no Greek before Cimon, nor Roman before Lucullus, ever carried the ſcene of war ſo far from their own country, unleſs we except the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules, thoſe of Perſeus againſt the Ethiopians, Medes, and Armenians, and the actions of Jaſon, if any memorials of theſe that deſerve credit are preſerved to our days. They were alike too in this, that they finiſhed not the enterpriſes they undertook; they brought their enemies near their ruin, but never entirely defeated them. There was yet a greater conformity in their generoſity and hoſpitality, and in the ſplendour and magnificence of their tables. We may perhaps have omitted ſome other

circumſtances of reſemblance; but it will be eaſy to obſerve them in the following relation.

Cimon was the ſon of Miltiades and Hegyſipyle, who was by birth a Thracian, and daughter to King Olorus; this appears from the poems of Melanthius and Archelaus *, which they both wrote in praiſe of Cimon. So that the hiſtorian Thucydides was his kinſman by the mother's ſide; for his father's name was alſo Olorus; he poſſeſſed ſome mines of gold in Thrace, and was killed in Scaptefula, a diſtrict of Thrace. His bones were afterwards brought into Attica, and his monument is ſhown amongſt thoſe of the family of Cimon, near the tomb of Elpinice, Cimon's ſiſter. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacia. Miltiades being condemned in a fine of fifty talents to the ſtate, and unable to pay it, was caſt into priſon, and there died. Cimon was left an orphan very young, with his ſiſter Elpinice, who was alſo young and unmarried. At firſt he had no reputation, being looked upon as riotous and diſſolute; nay he was compared to his grandfather Cimon, who for his ſtupidity was called *Coalemos*, (the idiot). Steſimbrotus of Thaſus, who lived about the ſame time with Cimon, reports of him, that he never learned muſic, nor ever acquired any of thoſe polite accompliſhments ſo much eſteemed in Greece; that he had not the leaſt ſpark of Attic wit and pleaſantry; but that his diſpoſition was open, generous, and ſincere, ſo that he ſeemed more like a native of Peloponneſus than an Athenian, being ſuch an one as Euripides deſcribes Hercules,

Rough and unbred, but form'd for great deſigns.

* Two elegiac poets, the firſt of them was of Miletus, or according to others of Athens. He flouriſhed about the eighty-fourth Olympiad. He was a great philoſopher, and the maſter of Socrates. The other flouriſhed about the ninety-fifth Olympiad.

For

For this character may well agree with that which Steſimbrotus has given of him. They accuſe him in his younger years of an inceſtuous commerce with his own ſiſter Elpinice, who otherwiſe had no great reputation for chaſtity, ſhe having been intimate with Polygnotus the painter. For when he painted the Trojan dames in the porch then called *Peiſinaction*, now *Pœcile*, he drew Laodice in the form of Elpinice. He was not an ordinary artiſt who was paid for his work, but generouſly gave his labours to the city. This all the hiſtorians report of him, and the poet Melanthius particularly in theſe verſes:

Theſe forms of gods and heroes which we view,
His bounty gave, his matchleſs pencil drew.

Some affirm, that Elpinice's familiarities with her brother were not private and criminal, but that ſhe lived publicly with him, and was really his wife: for as ſhe had but a ſmall fortune, ſhe could not meet with a huſband ſuitable to her birth. But afterwards when Callias, one of the richeſt men in Athens, fell in love with her, and offered to pay the mulct the father was condemned in, if he could obtain the daughter in marriage, Cimon accepted the condition, and betrothed her to Callias. It plainly appears, that Cimon was of an amorous complexion: for Melanthius in his elegies facetiouſly rallies him for his miſtreſſes, one of whom was called *Mneſtra*, and the other was Ariſteria of Salamin; and theſe, the poet ſays, he was very fond of. However, this is certain, that he loved his wife Iſodice very paſſionately; ſhe was the daughter of Euryptolemus the ſon of Megacles. Her death he regretted even to impatience, as appears by the elegies of condolence addreſſed to him upon his loſs of her. The philoſopher Panætius is of opinion, that Archelaus was the author of thoſe elegies; and indeed the time ſeems to favour that conjecture.

Every other part of Cimon's character was great and admirable. For as he was as daring as Miltiades, and not at all inferior to Themiſtocles for judgment, ſo he was confeſſedly more juſt and honeſt than either of them. As he was equal to them in diſcharging all the functions of a general; ſo in the political part of government, he very far excelled them; and this too when he was very young, before he had any experience in military affaris. For when Themiſtocles, upon the invaſion of the Medes, adviſed the Athenians to forſake their town and the country about it, and to carry all their arms on ſhipboard, and in the ſtraits of Salamin diſpute the dominion of the ſea with their enemies, every one elſe ſtood amazed at the raſhneſs of this advice; Cimon only was not at all ſurpriſed, but cheerfully paſſed through the Ceramicus, attended by his comrades, towards the caſtle, carrying a bridle in his hand to offer to the goddeſs Minerva; by this intimating, that there was no need of horſemen now, but of mariners. After he had paid his devotions to the goddeſs, and offered up the bridle, he took down the bucklers that hung upon the walls of the temple, and ſo went down to the port. By this example he encouraged and animated many of the citizens. He was handſome in his perſon, his ſtature was tall, and his hair was thick and curled. After he had acquitted himſelf bravely in this battle of Salamin, he ſoon gained the eſteem and affection of the Athenians; ſo that they were continually inflaming him with emulation, and animating him to perform deeds as famous as that of Marathon. The people were very glad when they ſaw him apply himſelf to affairs of ſtate; and they advanced him to the higheſt employments in the government, both becauſe they were diſguſted with Themiſtocles, and becauſe they were charmed with the mildneſs and candour of Cimon's temper. Ariſtides the ſon of Lyſimachus

Lyſimachus contributed not a little to his promotion; for obſerving the goodneſs and integrity of his diſpoſition, he purpoſely raiſed him, that he might be a counterpoiſe to the crafty and reſolute Themiſtocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was appointed commander of the fleet. The Athenians had not yet attained the chief authority in Greece, but were under the direction of Pauſanias and the Lacedæmonians. Cimon, therefore, firſt of all encouraged his citizens to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their good diſcipline and by their valour. And afterwards when Pauſanias, having formed a deſign to betray the Grecians, held conferences with the Barbarians, and wrote letters to the king of Perſia, and was beſides ſo extravagantly elated with his authority, that he treated the allies with inſupportable inſolence and ſeverity, Cimon, by affording protection to thoſe who had been injured by him, robbed him of that authority which he had among the Greeks, before he was aware. This he did not by open violence, but by affability and humanity. So that many of the allies being no longer able to endure the oppreſſive and inſolent behaviour of Pauſanias, revolted from him to Cimon and Ariſtides; who, having gained ſuch a party from him, ſent meſſengers to the Ephori of Sparta, deſiring them to recall a man who was a diſhonour to Sparta and a trouble to all Greece.

They report of Pauſanias, that when he was in Byzantium he ſolicited a young lady of a noble family in the city, whoſe name was *Cleonice*. Her parents dreading his cruelty, were forced to conſent, and abandoned their daughter to his embraces. Cleonice had commanded the ſervants to put out all the lights; ſo that approaching ſilently, and in the dark towards his bed, ſhe ſtumbled upon the lamp that was extinguiſhed, which ſhe overturned and ſpilled. Pauſanias, who was fallen aſleep, awaked, and

ſtartled with the noiſe, thought an aſſaſſin was come to murder him; and haſtily ſnatching up his poniard that lay by him, he wounded his ſuppoſed enemy to death. After this his mind was never at eaſe; for her ſpectre continually haunted his bed, and interrupted his repoſe with theſe angry words:

Go meet thy doom, the juſt reward of guilt;
Know, vengeance never ſleeps when blood is ſpilt.

All the allies looked on this action with the greateſt indignation; and joining their forces with Cimon's, they beſieged Pauſanias in Byzantium. But he eſcaped out of their hands, and being ſtill terrified by the viſion, went to Heraclea *. In this place there was a temple where the ſpirits of the dead were raiſed, in order to diſcover future events. Having ſolemnly invoked Cleonice, and entreated her to be reconciled, ſhe appeared to him, and anſwered him in theſe words; *As ſoon as thou comeſt to Sparta, thou ſhalt be freed from all thy misfortunes*; hereby obſcurely foretelling (in my opinion) the death which there attended him †. This ſtory is related by many writers.

Cimon ſtrengthened with this acceſſion of the allies, ſailed with his army to Thrace: for he was told that ſome great men among the Perſians, of the king's kindred, having poſſeſſed themſelves of Eïon, a town ſituated upon the river Strymon, infeſted the Greeks who bordered upon them.

* Strabo places Heraclea in Elis, about forty furlongs from Olympia; but Pauſanias fixes it a little further from thence in Arcadia. It is the ſame with that which is called *Phygalia* and *Phialia*. There Pauſanias had recourſe to certain magicians called *Pſychagogi*, that is, ſuch as pretended to raiſe departed ſpirits.

† For the Lacedæmonians reſolving to ſeize him, he fled for refuge into a temple of Minerva called *Chalcioicos*. There they ſtopped up all the gates, opened the roof of the chapel, whither he was withdrawn, and kept a conſtant watch over him till they had ſtarved him; and juſt as he was at the point of death, they took him from thence, and he expired immediately.

First,

First, he defeated those Persians, and shut them up within the walls of their town. Then he fell upon the Thracians themselves, in the adjacent country, from whence the town of Eïon was supplied with provisions. He drove them entirely out of the country, and took possession of it himself. By this means he reduced the besieged to such straits, that Butes, who commanded there for the king, in despair set fire to the town, and burned himself, his goods, and his friends, in one common flame. By this means Cimon got the town, but no great booty; for these Barbarians not only consumed themselves in the fire, but the richest of their moveables. However, he gave the country about it to the Athenians, it being a pleasant and fruitful soil. For this action the people permitted him to erect stone images of Mercury; upon the first of which was this inscription:

What honours shall we pay, what trophies raise,
(The sacred guardians of the hero's praise),
To those brave warriors, who at Strymon's flood
In close array the hardy Mede withstood!
In vain the vanquished from the victor fled,
Behind Eïon's walls to hide his head;
Thither new terrors did the rout pursue,
And those the sword had spar'd, fell famine slew.

Upon the second was this:

These monuments of never-dying fame
From Athens her victorious heroes claim.
These may her sons in after-ages view,
And strive their great forefathers to outdo.

This was the inscription of the third:

Mnestheus from hence led forth his chosen band,
And wav'd his banners high in hostile land.
Mnestheus, as Homer sings, did all excel
In ordering troops, and ranging battles well.

From

From him his lov'd Athenians learn'd the art,
To them his knowledge did the prince impart.
They, beſt of any, can the ranks prepare,
And form the ſquadrons for the doubtful war.

Though the name of *Cimon* is not mentioned in theſe inſcriptions, yet his contemporaries all aſſert that they relate to him, and diſtinguiſh him with a peculiar honour. For Miltiades and Themiſtocles could never obtain the like. And when Miltiades deſired a crown of olive, one Sophanes, who was of the ward of Decelea, ſtood up in the midſt of the aſſembly, and ſpoke theſe words, which were much applauded by the populace, though the ſentiment was very unjuſt and ungrateful; *When thou ſhalt conquer alone, Miltiades, thou ſhalt be honoured alone.* What then induced them ſo particularly to honour Cimon? It was certainly this, that under other commanders they ſtood upon the defenſive; but, by his conduct, they not only repulſed their enemies, but invaded them in their own country.

Thus they became maſters of Eïon and Amphipolis, where they planted colonies: and afterwards they ſent a colony likewiſe into the iſland of Scyros, which Cimon took after this manner *. The Dolopians were the inhabitants of this iſland, a people who neglected huſbandry, and had long been remarkable for piracy; and at laſt they rifled even thoſe that brought merchandiſe into their own ports. For ſome merchants of Theſſaly putting into their port of Cteſium, they ſeized their goods, and confined their perſons. But they breaking out of priſon, went and demanded juſtice of the Amphictyons, who condemned the iſland to pay a fine. The people thinking it unreaſonable that it ſhould be

* Thus, according to Plutarch, Cimon made himſelf maſter of Scyros after he had got poſſeſſion of Eïon; and in this he agrees with Thucydides, who ſays, *after the Athenians had taken Eïon they made themſelves maſters of Scyros,* This happened towards the beginning of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad.

paid

paid by the public, required thoſe to pay it who had enriched themſelves by the plunder; they fearing they ſhould be obliged to reſtore what they had taken, wrote to Cimon inviting him to come with his fleet, and declaring themſelves ready to deliver the town into his hands. Cimon having by theſe means taken the town, expelled thoſe Dolopian pirates, and opened the traffic of the Ægean ſea. After this, hearing that Theſeus the ſon of Ægeus, when he fled from Athens, took refuge in this iſland, and was there ſlain by King Lycomedes upon certain ſuſpicions, he endeavoured to find out where he was buried. For the oracle had not long before commanded the Athenians to bring home his aſhes, and to honour him as an hero. They could not however learn where he was interred; for the people of Scyros diſſembled the knowledge of it, and would not allow them to ſearch. But at length after diligent inquiry Cimon found out the tomb *; he then carried the relics into his own galley, and with great pomp brought them to Athens, eight hundred years after Theſeus left that country. This action much endeared Cimon to the people. And to ſignalize the memory of it, they appointed that celebrated conteſt betwixt the two tragedians, Æſchylus and Sophocles. For the latter having exhibited his firſt play, when he was very young, the applauſe of the theatre was divided, and the ſpectators ſided into parties. To determine this, Aphepſion, who was at that time Archon, would not caſt lots who ſhould be judges. But when Cimon, and the other commanders with him came into the theatre, after they had performed the uſual rites to the god of the feſtival, the Archon would not ſuffer them to depart, but made them ſwear (being ten in all, one from each tribe) to give their judgments in this contention. Both ſides ambitiouſly ſtrove who ſhould get the ſuffrages

* See the life of Theſeus, vol. i. p. 105.

of

of ſuch honourable judges; but the victory was at laſt adjudged to Sophocles. This ſo mortified Æſchylus, that in a ſhort time he left Athens, and went to Sicily, where he died of diſcontent, and was buried near the city of Gela.

Ion reports, that when he was a young man, and newly returned from Chios to Athens, he chanced to ſup with Cimon at Laomedon's houſe. After ſupper, when they had, according to cuſtom, poured out wine to the honour of the gods, Cimon was deſired to ſing. Having ſung very agreeably, he was complimented by the company, as being more polite than Themiſtocles, who being entreated upon ſuch an occaſion to ſing, anſwered, *That he could not ſing, nor play upon the harp, but that he knew how to make a city great and wealthy.* The converſation then naturally turning upon the actions of Cimon, after the moſt conſiderable of them had been mentioned, he told the company that they had omitted one, upon which he valued himſelf moſt for addreſs and contrivance. He gave this account of it. When the Athenians and their allies had taken a great number of the Barbarians priſoners in Seſtos and Byzantium, and deſired him to divide the booty, he put the priſoners in one lot, and all the rich ornaments of their dreſs in the other. This the allies complained of as an unequal diviſion; therefore he gave them their choice to take which lot they would, ſaying that the Athenians would be content with that which they refuſed. One Herophytus of Samos adviſed them to take the ornaments for their ſhare, and leave the ſlaves to the Athenians. Upon this Cimon was laughed at for his ridiculous diviſion: for the allies carried away the gold chains, bracelets, and purple robes, and the Athenians had only the naked bodies of the captives, which were little inured to labour. But in a ſhort time after, the friends and kinſmen of the priſoners coming from Lydia and Phrygia, redeemed

deemed them all at a very high ranſom. By this means Cimon got ſo much treaſure, that he maintained his whole fleet with the money for four months; and yet there was a conſiderable ſum left to lay up in the treaſury at Athens.

Cimon being now grown rich, what he gained honourably from the Barbarians, he ſpent ſtill more honourably upon the citizens. For he pulled down the incloſures of his gardens and grounds, that all travellers, but his citizens eſpecially, might freely gather the fruits. At home he kept a table that was not furniſhed indeed with great delicacies, but where there were proviſions ſufficient for a great number of gueſts. Here the poor townſmen had a conſtant and eaſy acceſs, ſo that they had leiſure to attend to their public duties, from which otherwiſe they would have been diſtracted by ſeeking after a ſubſiſtence. But Ariſtotle reports, that he was partial in his reception, and that it did not extend to all the Athenians, but only to thoſe of the ward of Lacia. He always went attended with a number of young men of his acquaintance very well clad, and if he met with an elderly citizen in a poor habit, he ordered one of his retinue to change cloaths with him; and he that received this mark of his kindneſs, thought himſelf highly honoured. He injoined his attendants likewiſe to carry a conſiderable quantity of money about them; and when in the ſtreets they met with any neceſſitous perſon of a decent appearance, they privately conveyed ſome pieces of money into his hand. To theſe things Cratinus the poet ſeems to allude in his comedy called *Archilochi*.

Even I Metrobius by name,
Who barely boaſt a ſcriv'ner's fame,
Suppos'd, let things go how they wou'd,
That Cimon, generous, great, and good,
Cimon, the firſt of Greeks, and then
Beyond diſpute the firſt of men,

Cimon

Cimon above all mortal praiſe,
Would aid me in my lateſt days.
But fate ſnatch'd him, (ſure fate is blind),
And left me ſtarving here behind.

Gorgias the Leontine gives him this character, *He got riches that he might uſe them, and ſo uſed them as to gain himſelf credit by them.* And Critias one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, when in his elegies he is expreſſing the utmoſt extent of his wiſhes, ſays,

I'd aſk for Scopas' wealth, and Cimon's ſoul;
Ageſilaus' ſucceſs ſhould crown the whole.

Lichas the Spartan, we know, became famous in Greece, only becauſe on the days of the ſports, when the young lads run naked, he uſed to entertain the ſtrangers that came to ſee theſe diverſions. But Cimon ſurpaſſed all the ancient Athenians for hoſpitality and good nature. For though the Athenians juſtly boaſt that their anceſtors taught the reſt of Greece the method of ſowing corn, and the uſe of fire and water: yet Cimon, by keeping open houſe, and giving travellers liberty to eat all his fruits, which the ſeveral ſeaſons afforded, ſeemed to reſtore to the world that community of goods which the poets tell us was maintained in the reign of Saturn. Thoſe who object to him, that he did this to be popular, and gain the applauſe of the vulgar, are confuted by the conſtant tenour of the reſt of his actions, which all tended to maintain the intereſts of the nobility againſt the populace; for he, together with Ariſtides, oppoſed Themiſtocles, who was for advancing the authority of the people beyond its juſt limits; and afterwards quarrelled with Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the multitude, was for aboliſhing the juriſdiction of the Areopagites. And when all of his time, except Ariſtides and Ephialtes, took preſents, and

and enriched themſelves by the public money, he ſtill kept his hands clean and untainted, and was perfectly diſintereſted in all that he acted or ſpoke for the benefit of the commonwealth. They report that Rœſaces a Perſian, who had revolted from the king his maſter, fled to Athens; and there being haraſſed by ſycophants, who were continually accuſing him to the people, he applied to Cimon for redreſs. To gain his favour, he placed at the entrance of his houſe, two cups, the one full of ſilver Darici *, and the other of gold. Cimon, when he ſaw them, ſmiled, and aſked him, *whether he would have him to be his mercenary, or his friend*; he replied, *his friend. If ſo* (ſaid he) *take away this money; for being your friend, I ſhall uſe it when I have occaſion for it.*

The allies of the Athenians began now to be very weary of the war, and were deſirous to live in repoſe, and attend to the cultivation of their lands. For they ſaw their enemies driven out of the country, and did not fear any new incurſions. Therefore though they ſtill paid the contributions they were aſſeſſed at, they would not ſend men and galleys, as they had done before. This the other Athenian generals endeavoured to force them to do by proſecutions and fines, till at laſt they rendered the government of the Athenians uneaſy, and odious to their confederates. But Cimon practiſed a contrary method; he forced none of the Greeks to go who were not willing, but from thoſe that deſired to be excuſed from ſervice, he took money, and veſſels unmanned, permitting the men to ſtay at home and follow what gainful vocations they liked beſt, whether of huſbandry or merchandiſe. The conſequence of this was, that by indolence and luxury they became enervated and unfit for war. But the Athenians he took by turns into his galleys, and by employing them in all his naval expe-

* The name of a Perſian coin.

ditions, ſoon rendered them the maſters of thoſe who paid them. So that being ſeverely diſciplined, and continually in arms, they began to be feared and flattered by the allies, who at laſt fell to that degree of ſubjection, that of allies they became tributaries and ſlaves.

No man ever checked the ambition of the Perſians more than Cimon; for he not only beat them out of Greece, but cloſely purſuing them, would not let them take breath, nor re-eſtabliſh their affairs; but either ravaged their territories and deſtroyed their towns, or prevailed on the provinces that were in ſubjection to them, to revolt to the Grecians. So that in all Aſia, even from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not one ſoldier that appeared for the king of Perſia.

When word was brought that ſome Perſian commanders were upon the coaſts of Pamphylia with a land-army, and a great fleet, Cimon, being deſirous to terrify them in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould never more venture beyond the Chelidonian iſles, ſet ſail from Triopium and Cnidos with two hundred galleys, which were very ſwift and eaſily manageable. They were firſt contrived and built by Themiſtocles; but Cimon widened them, and joined beſides a ſcaffold to the deck of each of them, that they might contain a greater number of combatants to oppoſe the enemy. He firſt ſteered towards the city of Phaſelis, which though inhabited by Greeks, yet would not quit the intereſts of Perſia, but denied his galleys entrance into the port. Whereupon he ravaged the country, and drew up his army to the walls of the town. But ſome ſoldiers of Chios, who were then liſted under Cimon, being ancient friends to the Phaſelites, endeavoured to mitigate the general in their behalf; and in the mean time ſhot arrows into the town, to which were faſtened letters of intelligence, which gave them an account of the ſtate of affairs. At length

length peace was concluded upon theſe conditions, that they ſhould pay down ten talents, and join their forces with Cimon againſt the Barbarians. Ephorus ſays, that the admiral of the Perſian fleet was Tithrauſtes, and the general of the land-army, Pherendates: but Caliſthenes ſays that Ariomandes the ſon of Gobryas had the ſupreme command of all the forces. The whole fleet anchored at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, but with no deſign to fight, becauſe they expected a reinforcement of Phœnician ſhips, which were to come from Cyprus. But Cimon, being reſolved to prevent their joining, ranged his galleys in ſuch a poſture, that if they declined fighting, he might force them to it. The Barbarians ſeeing this, retired within the mouth of the river, to prevent their being attacked; but when they ſaw the Athenians come upon them, notwithanding their retreat, they met them with ſix hundred ſail, as Phanodemus relates, but according to Ephorus only with three hundred and fifty. Yet, notwithſtanding this advantage of number, they did nothing worthy ſo great a force; for they preſently turned the prows of their galleys toward the ſhore, where thoſe that came firſt threw themſelves upon land, and fled to their army, which was drawn up thereabouts; but the reſt periſhed with their veſſels, or were taken. By this we may judge that their number was very great; for though many eſcaped out of the fight, and many others were ſunk, yet two hundred galleys were taken by the Athenians. When their land-army drew towards the ſea-ſide, Cimon thought it very hazardous to make a deſcent, and to expoſe his Greeks, already wearied, to the ſwords of the Barbarians, who were all freſh men, and greatly ſuperior to them in number. But ſeeing his men reſolute, and fluſhed with victory, he ventured to land them while they were yet warm from the firſt engagement. As ſoon as they were diſembarked,

they ſet up a ſhout, and ran furiouſly upon the enemy, who ſtood firm, and ſuſtained the ſhock with great reſolution. The battle was very bloody; and the principal men of the Athenians for quality and courage, were ſlain. At length, though with much difficulty, they routed the Barbarians; they took many priſoners, and plundered all their tents and pavilions, which were full of very rich ſpoil. Cimon having thus in one day gained two victories, wherein he ſurpaſſed that of Salamin by ſea, and that of Platææ by land, was encouraged to purſue his ſucceſs: ſo that news being brought that the Phœnician ſuccours, in number eighty ſail, were arrived at Hydrus, he immediately bent his courſe toward them. They had not received any certain account of the former defeat, and were in great doubt and ſuſpenſe: ſo that being thus ſurpriſed, they loſt all their veſſels, and the greateſt part of their men. This ſucceſs of Cimon ſo humbled the king of Perſia, that he preſently made that memorable peace, whereby he engaged that his armies ſhould come no nearer the Grecian ſea than the ſpace of a day's journey on horſeback *, and that none of his galleys or veſſels of war ſhould appear beyond the Cyanean and Chelidonian iſlands †. Caliſthenes ſays, that this was not ſtipulated by articles, but that he kept at that diſtance from Greece merely through the fear which this victory had impreſſed upon him; ſo that when Pericles with fifty galleys, and Ephialtes with thirty, cruiſed beyond the Chelidonian iſlands, they could not diſcover one Perſian veſſel. But in the collection which Crate-

* *i. e.* Four hundred furlongs, as it is explained afterwards at the end of this life.

† By this means he was debarred from entering the Ægean ſea by the Euxine, and the Mediterranean by the ſeas of Pamphylia, Syria, *&c.* For thoſe Cyanean iſlands, or rocks, were near the entrance of the Euxine, one on the European ſide near Byzantium, and the other on the Aſiatic ſide, near Chalcedon, being ſeparated from each other by an arm of the ſea not above twenty furlongs broad.

rus

rus made of the public decrees of the people, there is a copy of this treaty, which therefore muſt really have been made. And it is reported, that at Athens they erected an altar to Peace upon this occaſion, and decreed particular honours to Callias, who was employed as ambaſſador to manage the treaty.

The people of Athens raiſed ſo much money from the ſale of the ſpoils, that, beſide what they ſpent for other purpoſes, they had ſufficient to build the ſouth wall of the citadel. It is ſaid too, that the long walls called *Skele* or *legs*, which joined the city to the port, were founded by Cimon, (though they were not finiſhed till afterwards), and that he furniſhed the money neceſſary for that work; for the place where they built them being a marſhy ground, they were forced to ſink great quantities of gravel and large ſtones to ſecure the foundation. It was he likewiſe that adorned Athens with thoſe public places for exerciſe and converſation, which the Athenians afterward ſo much frequented and delighted in. He planted the forum with plane trees. The academy, which was before without trees and without water, he changed into a delightful grove beautified with fountains; he made covered alleys to walk in, and laid out ground for foot and horſe races.

Afterward being informed that ſome Perſians refuſed to quit the Cherſoneſus, and called in the people of the upper Thrace to their aſſiſtance, he ſailed againſt them with a very ſmall number of ſhips. The Barbarians deſpiſed ſo inconſiderable a force; he took, however, thirteen of their ſhips, though he attacked them only with four. Then having driven out the Perſians, and ſubdued the Thracians, he reduced the whole Cherſoneſus in ſubjection to the Athenians. From hence he went againſt the people of Thaſos, who had revolted; and having defeated them in a ſea-fight, and taken

thirty-three of their veſſels, he ſtormed their town, ſeized for the Athenians all the mines of gold on the oppoſite continent, and all the country dependent on it. This opened him an eaſy paſſage into Macedon, ſo that he might have conquered the greateſt part of it. But becauſe he neglected that opportunity, he was ſuſpected of having been bribed by King Alexander, and was proſecuted by a combination of his enemies. When he was making his defence before the judges, he told them, *that he had never cultivated a friendſhip with thoſe rich nations, the Ionians and Theſſalians, as ſome others for their own intereſt had done; but that there was a friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and the Macedonians, becauſe he admired, and wiſhed to imitate their temperance and ſimplicity of living, which he preferred to any riches; though he had always been, and ſtill was ambitious to enrich his country with the ſpoils of her enemies.* Steſimbrotus, making mention of this trial, reports, that Elpinice, in behalf of her brother, addreſſed herſelf to Pericles, one of the moſt vehement of his accuſers; and that Pericles anſwered her with a ſmile, *You are too old, Elpinice, too old to manage affairs of this nature.* However, after that, he became the mildeſt of his proſecutors, and roſe up but once all the while to plead againſt him; which he did but very faintly; ſo that Cimon was acquitted.

In his political adminiſtration he always reſtrained the common people, who would have encroached upon the nobility, and drawn all the power into their own hands. But when he afterward went to command the army abroad, the multitude broke looſe as it were, and reverſed all the ancient laws and cuſtoms they had hitherto obſerved; and, at the inſtigation of Ephialtes, they withdrew the cogniſance of almoſt all cauſes from the Areopagus; ſo that all appeals being made to them, the government was reduced to a perfect democracy; and this by the help of Pericles, who declared in favour of

of the common people. But Cimon, when he returned, ſeeing this great council ſo diſgraced, was exceedingly troubled, and endeavoured to remedy theſe diſorders, by bringing things to their former ſtate, and reſtoring the nobility to that authority which they had in the time of Caliſthenes. This the others declaimed againſt with the greateſt vehemence; they began to revive thoſe ſtories concerning him and his ſiſter, and accuſed him of being too ſtrongly attached to the Lacedæmonians. Agreeable to theſe calumnies are thoſe well-known verſes of Eupolis upon Cimon;

He's not ill-natur'd, whatſoe'er you think,
But flies from buſineſs as he flies to drink.
He goes to Sparta, and is ſo unkind,
He leaves his poor Elpinice behind.

But if when he was ſlothful and a drunkard, he could ſtorm ſo many towns, and gain ſo many victories; certainly if he had been ſober, and diligent, no Grecian commander, either before or after him, could have ſurpaſſed him in martial exploits. He was indeed a favourer of the Lacedæmonians even from his youth; and Steſimbrotus reports, that of two ſons that were twins, whom he had by a woman of Clitorium, he named one *Lacedæmonius*, and the other *Eleus*. Whence Pericles often upbraided them with the race of their mother. But Diodorus the geographer aſſerts that both theſe, and another ſon of Cimon's, whoſe name was *Theſſalus*, were born of Iſodice the daughter of Euryptolemus the ſon of Megacles.

However, this is certain, that Cimon was countenanced by the Lacedæmonians in oppoſition to Themiſtocles, whom they hated; and while he was yet very young, they endeavoured to raiſe his credit and authority in Athens. This the Athenians perceived, and at firſt it gave them great pleaſure; the favour which the Lacedæmonians ſhowed him

being

being at that time very advantageous to them. For as their authority was then beginning to increaſe, and they were labouring to gain over the allies to their ſide, they were not at all offended with the honour and kindneſs ſhowed to Cimon; for he then bore the greateſt ſway in the affairs of Greece, as he was kind to the Lacedæmonians, and courteous to all the allies. But afterwards when the Athenians were grown more powerful, it gave them great uneaſineſs to ſee Cimon ſo entirely devoted to the Lacedæmonians; for he would always in his ſpeeches prefer them to the Athenians; and upon every occaſion, when he would reprimand the Athenians for a fault, or incite them to emulation, he would ſay, *The Lacedæmonians would not do thus.* This highly diſguſted the citizens, and procured him a great deal of hatred and ill-will. But the calumny by which he ſuffered moſt of all, had this original.

In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus the ſon of Zeuxidamus king of Sparta, there happened in Laconia the moſt dreadful earthquake that ever was known; the earth opened into moſt frightful abyſſes, and ſwallowed up ſome parts of the country; the mountain Taygetus and thoſe adjacent to it were ſo ſhaken that the ſummits of them fell down; and except five houſes, all the town of Sparta was ſhattered to pieces. They ſay, that a little before any motion was perceived, as ſome young men were exerciſing themſelves in the middle of the portico, an hare of a ſudden ſtarted out juſt by them, which ſome of them, though naked, and rubbed over with oil, ran after in ſport; no ſooner were they gone from the place, but the building fell down upon them that were left, and killed them all. In memory of this fatal accident, the monument where they were afterwards interred is to this day called *Siſmatias*, (that is), *The tomb of thoſe who were killed by the earthquake.* Archidamus, by the

the preſent danger apprehending what might follow, and ſeeing the citizens intent upon removing the richeſt of their goods, commanded an alarm to be ſounded, as if their enemies were coming upon them, that they might immediately arm themſelves, and reſort to him. It was this alone that ſaved Sparta at that time: for the Helots were aſſembled together from the adjacent country, with a deſign to ſurpriſe the Spartans, and to plunder thoſe whom the earthquake had ſpared. But finding them armed, and well prepared, they retired into the other towns, and openly made war againſt them, having drawn into a confederacy not a few of their neighbours. Among the reſt, the Meſſenians joined with them againſt the Spartans, who therefore diſpatched Periclidas to Athens to ſolicit for ſuccours. Alluding to this Ariſtophanes ridicules him in theſe lines;

When he with coat ſo red and face ſo pale
Our help implor'd, and told his piteous tale *.

Ephialtes endeavoured to prevent the people from granting this requeſt, declaring that they ought not to affiſt or reſtore a city that was rival to Athens; but that they ſhould leave it in its preſent diſtreſs, and trample on the pride and arrogance of Sparta. But Cimon (as Critias relates) chuſing rather to preſerve Sparta, than to aggrandize his own country, perſuaded the people to ſend him with a conſiderable army to its relief. Ion has preſerved that part of his ſpeech which moſt affected the Athenians. It was this; *Suffer not Greece to be maimed by the loſs of ſo conſiderable a member, nor your own city to be deprived of her companion.*

In his return from aiding the Lacedæmonians, he paſſed with his army through the territory of Corinth. Lachartus reproached him for bringing his army into the country, without firſt aſking

* This paſſage is in the Lyſiſtrate, l. 1140.

leave

leave of the people, telling him, *that he who knocks at another man's door, ought not to enter the houſe without the maſter's leave. But you, Lachartus,* (ſaid Cimon), *did not knock at the gates of the Cleonians and Megarians, but broke them down, and entered by force, thinking that every place ought to be open to the powerful.* Having given this ſharp and proper rebuke to the Corinthian, he paſſed on with his army. Some time after this, the Lacedæmonians ſent a ſecond time to deſire ſuccours of the Athenians, againſt the Meſſenians and Helots, who had ſeized upon Ithome *. But when they came, the Spartans fearing their courage and reſolution, ſent them back, (they were the only allies they uſed in that manner), alleging they were turbulent and ſeditious. The Athenians returned home, enraged at this uſage, and vented their anger upon all thoſe who were favourers of the Lacedæmonians. Therefore upon ſome ſlight occaſion they baniſhed Cimon for ten years, which is the time preſcribed to thoſe who are baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians intending to deliver Delphi from the Phoceans, brought an army to Tanagra, whither the Athenians preſently marched with a deſign to fight them.

Cimon alſo came thither armed, intending to join with his countrymen in oppoſing the Lacedæmonians, and accordingly ranged himſelf amongſt

* The Lacedæmonians having undertaken the ſiege of Ithome, and finding it impoſſible for them who were not well ſkilled in attacks, to carry the place, ſent, and demanded the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, who were known to excel in that part of military ſcience. They were no ſooner arrived before the town under Cimon's command, but the Spartans began to be jealous of their active enterpriſing temper. They were afraid that if they continued long there, the ſtrangers that were in their army being bought off by the beſieged, and countenanced by the Athenians, might turn their arms againſt them. Whereupon they diſmiſſed Cimon and his ſoldiers, declaring that they had no occaſion for them. The Athenians incenſed at this affront, which they had not deſerved at their hands, broke the alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argians their enemies. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

thoſe

thoſe of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis. But the council of five hundred being informed of this, and terrified at it, (his adverſaries crying out that he would diſorder the army, and bring the Lacedæmonians to Athens), commanded the officers not to receive him. Cimon therefore left the army, conjuring Euthippus the Anaphlyſtian, and the reſt of his companions, who were moſt ſuſpected of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to behave themſelves bravely againſt their enemies, and by their actions make their innocence evident to their countrymen. Theſe men being an hundred in number took Cimon's complete armour, and placing it in the middle of their battalion, formed themſelves into a cloſe body, and charged ſo deſperately upon the enemy, that they were all cut off. The Athenians deeply regretted the loſs of ſuch brave men, and repented of their unjuſt ſuſpicions. Nor did they long retain their reſentment againſt Cimon, being influenced partly by the remembrance of his former ſervices, and partly by the conſideration of the preſent ſtate of their affairs. For having been defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and fearing the Peloponneſians would come upon them at the opening of the ſpring, they recalled Cimon by a decree, of which Pericles himſelf was author. So reaſonable were mens reſentments in thoſe times, and ſo moderate their anger, that it always gave way to the public good: even ambition, the moſt ungovernable of all human paſſions, could then yield to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

Cimon, as ſoon as he returned, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. But ſeeing the Athenians impatient of being idle, and eager to aggrandize themſelves by war, and fearing leſt they ſhould ſet upon the Grecians themſelves, or with ſo many ſhips cruiſing about the iſlands and Peloponneſius, give occaſion to inteſtine wars, or complaints of their allies againſt them, he equipped

two

two hundred galleys, with a deſign to make an attempt once more upon Ægypt and Cyprus *, that thus he might accuſtom the Athenians to fight againſt the Barbarians, and enrich themſelves by the plunder of thoſe who were by nature enemies to Greece. But when all things were prepared, and the army was ready to embark, Cimon had this dream: he thought that a bitch barked furiouſly at him, and with a kind of human voice mixed with barking, uttered theſe words:

Go on, for ſhortly thou ſhalt be
A friend to my young whelps, and me.

This dream was hard to interpret; yet Aſtyphilus of Poſidonia, a man ſkilled in divination, and intimate with Cimon, told him, that his death was preſaged by this viſion, which he thus explained: *A dog is an enemy to him he barks at, and a man is always moſt a friend to his enemies, when he is dead; the mixture of a human voice with barking ſignifies the*

* There had been a former expedition againſt Cyprus and Ægypt; but neither in the firſt nor in the ſecond did the Athenians intend to attack both kingdoms at the ſame time. The hiſtory of the firſt expedition is this. Cimon ſailed againſt Cyprus with two hundred galleys. Whilſt he was buſied in this enterpriſe, Inarces, king of Libya, and ſon of Pſammetichus, ſet out from Marea, a town ſituated above Pharos, and obliged the greateſt part of Ægypt to revolt againſt Artaxerxes, and called in the Athenians who were before Cyprus, to his aſſiſtance. Hereupon the Athenians immediately quitted that iſland, and ſailing into Ægypt made themſelves maſters of the Nile, attacked Memphis, ſeized on two of the out-works, and furiouſly aſſaulted the third, which was called *the white wall*. But they proved very unfortunate in this expedition. For Artaxerxes ſent Megabazus at the head of a powerful army into Ægypt, where he defeated the rebels and their aſſociates, drove the Greeks from Memphis, ſhut them up in an iſland, where he beſieged them for eighteen months together, and at laſt forced them to ſurrender. They almoſt all periſhed in that war, which held ſix years; ſo that very few of them got back into Greece: this was the firſt expedition. The ſecond was a few years after, and happened in the ſame manner. The Athenians went againſt Cyprus with two hundred galleys. Whilſt they were before Citium, to which they had laid ſiege, Amerteus the king ſent to deſire ſome ſuccours of them, and Cimon ſent him ſixty of his galleys. Some ſay he went with them himſelf; others, that he continued at the ſiege.

Medes,

Medes, for the army of the Medes is made up of Greeks and Barbarians. After this dream, as he was ſacrificing to Bacchus, and the prieſt was cutting up the victim, a great number of emmets, taking up the little congealed particles of the blood, laid them about Cimon's great toe: this was not obſerved a good while; but as ſoon as Cimon ſaw it, the prieſt came and ſhowed him the liver of the victim imperfect, wanting that part of it which they called the *head.* But as he could not then recede from the enterpriſe, he ſet ſail; ſixty of his ſhips he ſent toward Ægypt; with the reſt he went and fought the king of Perſia's fleet, compoſed of Phœnician and Cilician ſhips. He ſubdued all the cities of Cyprus, and threatened Ægypt, deſigning no leſs than the entire ruin of the Perſian empire; and the rather becauſe he was informed that Themiſtocles was in great repute among the Barbarians, and had promiſed the king to lead his army, whenever he ſhould make war upon Greece. But they ſay Themiſtocles, loſing all hopes of ſucceeding in his deſigns, and deſpairing to ſurpaſs the virtue and good fortune of Cimon, died a voluntary death. Cimon ſtill framing great deſigns, and keeping his navy about the iſland of Cyprus, ſent meſſengers to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon upon ſome ſecret affair; (for it is not known with what meſſage they were ſent.) The god would give them no anſwer, but commanded them to return again, ſaying *that Cimon was already with him.* Hearing this they returned towards the ſea, and as ſoon as they came to the Grecian army, which was then about Ægypt, they were informed that Cimon was dead; and computing the time when the oracle was delivered, they found that his death was meant by the expreſſion, *that he was then with the gods.* It is generally ſaid that he died of a ſickneſs at Citium in Cyprus; but ſome ſay that he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the Barbarians.

Juſt before his death, he commanded thoſe under his charge to return to their country, and by no means to ſpread the news of his death by the way. This order was ſo punctually executed, that they all came home ſafe, and neither their enemies nor allies knew what had happened. Thus, as Phanodemus obſerves, the Grecian army was, as it were, conducted by Cimon thirty days after he was dead. But with him periſhed all the good fortune of Greece; for after his death no commander ever did any thing great or memorable againſt the Barbarians; and inſtead of uniting againſt their common enemies, the Grecians were exaſperated againſt each other by their turbulent and contentious leaders, and no one interpoſed his good offices to reconcile them. This gave the Perſians time to recruit their ſtrength, and brought inexpreſſible miſchief and ruin upon the Greeks. It is true indeed, Ageſilaus made ſome ſhow of the Grecian forces in Aſia, but it was a long time after: he ſeemed to revive ſome little appearances of a war againſt the king's lieutenants in the maritime provinces, but they all quickly vaniſhed; for before he could perform any thing of moment, he was recalled on account of ſome new diſſenſions among the Greeks at home: ſo that he was forced to leave the officers of the king of Perſia to impoſe what tribute they pleaſed on the Grecian cities in Aſia. Whereas, in the time of Cimon, no perſon whatever, not even a letter-carrier, durſt come near the borders, nor any man in arms within four hundred furlongs of the ſea.

The monuments called *Cimonian* to this day in Athens, ſhow that to be the place of his burial. Yet the inhabitants of the city of Citium pay particular honour to a certain tomb which they call the tomb of *Cimon*, according to Nauſicrates the rhetorician;

rhetorician; who also reports, that in a famine, when their necessities were very great, they sent to the oracle, which commanded them *to honour Cimon as a god.*

Such was the life and character of this Grecian commander.

THE LIFE OF LUCULLUS.

LUcullus's grandfather had been conſul; his uncle by the mother's ſide was Metellus ſurnamed *Numidicus*. As for his parents, his father was convicted of extortion; and his mother Cæcilia was infamous for her looſe behaviour. As for Lucullus himſelf, whilſt he was very young, and before he had put up for any office, or engaged in public buſineſs, he made himſelf known in the world by a remarkable action; for he proſecuted Servilius the augur (who had been his father's accuſer), and charged him with corruption in the execution of his office. This ſtep was generally applauded, and conſidered as an act of ſingular virtue. The Romans indeed did not eſteem the office of an accuſer to be diſhonourable, even though the accuſation was not well founded; but it gave them the higheſt pleaſure to ſee young men purſuing offenders with eagerneſs, like hounds of a generous breed who are keen upon their prey. This cauſe was managed with ſuch vehemence and animoſity, that ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides; however Servilius in the iſſue was acquitted.

Lucullus acquired ſuch a ſkill both in the Greek and Latin tongues, that he could expreſs himſelf with equal fluency and elegance in both; for which reaſon Sylla dedicated his memoirs to him, as to a perſon

perſon more able than himſelf to digeſt them into method, and form a regular hiſtory out of them. His eloquence was not merely ſuch as is neceſſary for thoſe who engage in political affairs, like that of many orators, who in the forum are loud, buſy, and boiſterous,

And like the tunny rolling in the ſea,

but in every other place

——— *Are lifeleſs, dry, and mute.*

In his youth he much admired and ſtudied the elegant and liberal ſciences. And when he grew in years, being as it were worn out by his various fatigues, he refreſhed his mind with the ſtudy of philoſophy; not reſting wholly in the contemplative part, but invigorating his ſpeculations by action and employment, and at the ſame time by the precepts of philoſophy giving a check to that emulation and ambition which was the natural effect of his conteſt with Pompey. We have this remarkable inſtance of his great learning. One day, when he was a young man, after he had made himſelf merry for ſome time upon the ſubject with Hortenſius the lawyer, and Siſenna the hiſtorian, he offered in good earneſt to write an account of the *Marſian war* in verſe or proſe, and that either in the Greek or Roman language, as ſhould be determined by lot. They took him at his word, and the lot falling upon the Greek, he performed his promiſe; and to this we owe the hiſtory of that war written in Greek, which is ſtill extant. Among the many inſtances of his ſingular affection to his brother Marcus, that which was firſt in date, was eſteemed the firſt in merit by the Romans. Though he was much older than his brother, yet he declined entering upon any office till his brother was qualified by age to ſhare with him in the honours and dignities of the commonwealth. The

people were ſo charmed with this, that Lucullus, though abſent, was choſen ædile with Marcus.

When he was very young he gave many proofs of his valour and conduct in the Marſian war, being admired by Sylla for his conſtancy and mildneſs, and always employed by him in diſpatching the moſt important affairs; one of theſe was the coining of money; for the greateſt part of the money uſed in the Mithridatic war was coined by him in Peloponneſus; and being ſoon exchanged for neceſſaries in the camp, it was for a long time current in the army, and from him called *Lucullian coin*. After this, when Sylla had conquered Athens, and the neceſſaries for his army were cut off, the enemy being maſter at ſea, Lucullus was the man whom he ſent into Libya and Ægypt, to procure him ſhipping. It was then the depth of winter, when he ventured out with no more than three ſmall Greek veſſels, and as many Rhodian galleys, into the main ſea, among multitudes of the enemy's ſhips, which, as they had the ſuperiority at ſea, were cruiſing about every where. However he arrived ſafely at Crete, and gained over the Cretans to Sylla's party; and finding the Cyrenians oppreſſed by tyrants and haraſſed by a deſtructive war, he took care of their public affairs, and ſettled their government; putting their city in mind of that ſaying which Plato had prophetically uttered of them. For the Cyrenians having ſent and entreated that philoſopher to preſcribe laws to them, and appoint for them ſome ſound form of government, he anſwered, *That it was a hard thing to give laws to a people ſo wealthy as the Cyrenians*. For nothing is more untractable than man when he is in proſperity, nor more tame and obedient when fortune is unfavourable. This made the Cyrenians ſo willingly ſubmit to the laws which Lucullus impoſed upon them. When he had ſettled affairs at Cyrene, he ſailed from thence into Ægypt; but in his

his paſſage loſt the greateſt part of the ſhips he had been collecting, which fell into the hands of pirates. He himſelf however eſcaped to Alexandria, where he was received with great reſpect. For the whole royal navy ſplendidly adorned went out of the port to meet him, and paid him the ſame compliments the king himſelf was uſed to receive upon his return from a voyage. Ptolemy, who was then very young, entertained him with the higheſt teſtimonies of kindneſs and reſpect, even ſo far as to appoint him an apartment and table in the palace, an honour never ſhown before to any foreign officer or commander. Beſides, his appointments for the defraying his expenſes were four times as much as any that had been ſettled before on the like occaſions. However Lucullus accepted of no more than what was abſolutely neceſſary, and refuſed the preſents that were offered him, though they were very conſiderable, and valued at more than fourſcore talents. It is reported that he neither went to ſee Memphis, nor any of the celebrated wonders of Ægypt; thinking it fitter for a man of no buſineſs, and much curioſity, to ſee ſuch things, than for him who had left his commander in the trenches, ſtorming the walls of his enemies. Ptolemy refuſed to enter into an alliance with Sylla, for fear of drawing the war upon himſelf, but at the ſame time provided Lucullus with a fleet ſufficient to convoy him to Cyprus; and juſt as he was ready to embark, the king took leave of him with great tenderneſs, embraced him, and preſented him with a large beautiful emerald ſet in gold. Lucullus at firſt refuſed it, but when the king ſhowed him that his picture was engraven upon it, he was then forced in prudence to accept of it; for had he ſhowed any diſcontent at parting, it might have endangered his paſſage.

During his voyage he collected a number of ſhips from all the maritime towns, except from ſuch as

gave

gave harbour to the pirates, or were ſuſpected to be in their intereſt; and in this condition he arrived at Cyprus. There he was informed that the enemy lay in wait for him under the promontories; whereupon he laid up his fleet, and ſent to the cities to ſupply him with proviſions, ſaying that he was reſolved to winter among them. But as ſoon as the wind ſerved, he launched on a ſudden, embarked, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his ſails in the day-time, and hoiſting them when it was dark; by which ſtratagem he got ſafe to Rhodes. Being furniſhed with ſhips at Rhodes, he ſoon prevailed upon the inhabitants of Coos and Cnidos to quit the party of Mithridates, and join with him againſt the Samians. He drove the king's garriſon out of Chios, and ſet the Colophonians at liberty, having ſeized Epigonus the tyrant who cruelly oppreſſed them.

About this time Mithridates left Pergamus, and retired to Pitane, where being cloſely beſieged by Fimbria, and not daring to engage with ſo bold and victorious a commander, he contrived to make his eſcape by ſea, and ſent for all his fleet to attend him. Which when Fimbria perceived, having no ſhips of his own, he ſent to Lucullus, entreating him to aſſiſt him with his, in ſubduing the moſt dangerous and determined enemy of Rome, leſt the opportunity of humbling Mithridates, an enterpriſe which had coſt the Romans ſo much blood and ſo much labour, ſhould now be loſt, when he was within reach, and ſo eaſily to be taken. He repreſented to him, that if Mithridates ſhould be made priſoner, no one would be more highly commended than he, who cut off his paſſage, and ſeized him in his flight; and that if he were driven from the land by the one, and ſtopt at ſea by the other, it would be ſuch an honour to them both, that it would eclipſe the fame of Sylla's actions at Chæronea and Orchomenus.

The

The propoſal was not at all unreaſonable, it being obvious to all men, that if Lucullus had hearkened to Fimbria, and with his navy, which was then near at hand, had blocked up the haven, the war would ſoon have been brought to an end, and infinite miſchiefs prevented thereby. But he, either preferring the intereſt of Sylla, whoſe lieutenant he was, to all other conſiderations, whether of a public or private nature; or looking on Fimbria with deteſtation, for having lately, to gratify his ambition, imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend, who was at the ſame time his general; or elſe being led by an eſpecial providence to ſpare Mithridates for the preſent, and preſerve him as an enemy hereafter to be ſubdued by his own arms, gave no ear to the propoſal, but ſuffered Mithridates to eſcape, and laugh at Fimbria and all his preparations. After which he alone had the honour of defeating the king's fleet in two engagements. The firſt was at Lectum, a promontory of Troas; ſoon after which hearing that Neoptolemus, the king's lieutenant, was riding at anchor in the bay of Tenedos, with a fleet more numerous than the former, he ſailed towards him, and advanced before the reſt of his fleet on board a galley of Rhodes commanded by Demagoras, an expert ſeaman, and a great friend to the Romans. Neoptolemus upon ſight of him made up furiouſly towards him, and commanded the maſter of his ſhip to ſtrike againſt that of Lucullus. But Demagoras fearing the bulk and maſſy ſtem of the admiral galley, thought it dangerous to meet him ahead; wherefore tacking about he received him aſtern, in which place he ſuffered no great damage, becauſe the ſhock fell on the lower parts of the ſhip, which were under water. Immediately upon this the reſt of the fleet came up; and Lucullus ordering the maſter of the galley to tack again, fell vigorouſly upon the enemy, and behaving with extraordinary

extraordinary courage and reſolution, he put them to flight, and purſued Neoptolemus for a conſiderable time. After this he proceeded and joined Sylla in Cherſoneſus, as he was paſſing the ſtrait, and brought timely aſſiſtance for the tranſportation of the army.

As ſoon as the peace was concluded betwixt Mithridates and the Romans *, the king ſailed back to the Euxine ſea, and Sylla laid a fine of twenty thouſand talents upon Aſia. Lucullus was ordered to levy the fine, and new-coin the money; and his behaviour in that employment proved ſome ſort of eaſe and conſolation to thoſe diſtreſſed cities, after the hardſhips they had ſuffered from Sylla. For he proceeded not only like a man of uprightneſs and integrity, but ſhowed as much moderation and tenderneſs as could be expected in an employment ſo odious and ſevere.

The Mitylenians having revolted, and declared for Marius, he earneſtly deſired to make them ſenſible of their error, that they might meet with an eaſy puniſhment. But when he found they were led by their evil genius to perſiſt in their oppoſition, he came upon them with his fleet, defeated them, ſhut them up in their city, and beſieged them. Some time after this he had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: he embarked at noon-day in open view of the city, and pretended to ſet ſail for Elea; but as ſoon as it was dark he tacked about, returned privately without any noiſe, and lay in ambuſh near the city. The Mitylenians the next morning ſallied out in a diſorderly manner, and ran to pillage the camp, which they expected to find defenceleſs and forſaken. But Lucullus riſing from his ambuſcade fell upon them on a ſudden, made many of them priſoners, ſlew five thouſand, who ſtood

* This peace was concluded in the year of Rome 669, eighty-two years before the incarnation, and eight years before the death of Sylla.

upon

upon their defence, took from them ſix thouſand ſlaves, and an immenſe quantity of other plunder.

He had no hand in the infinite calamities in which all Italy was involved by the means of Marius and Sylla. He was preſerved from that misfortune by the particular care of divine providence, which kept him exerciſed in Aſia. And yet, though abſent, he was as much in Sylla's favour as any of his other friend. For, as we obſerved before, he dedicated his memoirs to him as a mark of his affection, and at his death left him guardian to his ſon, in preference to Pompey. It is very likely that this preference was the principal cauſe of the contention and jealouſy that afterwards broke out between them; both of them being young, and equally ambitious of honour.

A little after Sylla's death he was choſen conſul with Marcus Aurelius Cotta, about the one hundred ſeventy-ſixth Olympiad. At that time ſome were for renewing the war with Mithridates, which Cotta declared *was not dead, but only laid aſleep for the preſent.* Wherefore when the provinces came to be determined by lot, and the Ciſalpine Gaul fell to Lucullus, he was exceedingly troubled at it, becauſe he conſidered it as a province where there was no room for any great exploits. Beſides, he was mortified at Pompey's ſucceſs in Spain, where he had acquired great reputation; and he foreſaw that as ſoon as that war was ended, he was the moſt likely of any man to be declared general againſt Mithridates. Wherefore when Pompey had demanded large ſums of money, and declared in plain terms, that unleſs it was ſent him he would relinquiſh Spain to Sertorius, and return with his army into Italy, Lucullus ſeconded his demand with great zeal, and made uſe of all his intereſt and authority to have the money ſent him, that he might have no pretence of coming home during his conſulſhip. For it was not to be doubted but he would

would be maſter in Rome, and govern as he pleaſed, whilſt he was at the head of ſo great an army. Beſides, Cethegus the tribune, who had the greateſt influence of any man in the city, becauſe he neither ſaid nor did any thing there but what he knew would be agreeable to the people, was an enemy to Lucullus, who deteſted his ſcandalous lewdneſs and profligate life, and had on that account declared open war againſt him.

At the ſame time when Lucius Quintius another tribune propoſed to abrogate the laws which Sylla had made, and endeavoured to diſturb the peace of the ſtate, which was now compoſed and ſettled, Lucullus, by private remonſtrances and public admonitions, diverted him from his deſign, and gave a check to his ambition. Thus, by his prudent and ſalutary conduct, he ſuppreſſed in the very beginning an evil which might have been fatal to the commonwealth.

About this time news was brought to Rome that Octavius the governor of Cilicia was dead; upon which many candidates appeared for that government, and all of them made their court to Cethegus, as the man whoſe credit would enable him to turn the balance in favour of him he was pleaſed to countenance. Lucullus did not look on that province as any thing conſiderable in itſelf; but he conceived that if he could obtain it, no man but himſelf would be employed in the war againſt Mithridates, by reaſon of its nearneſs to Cappadocia. This made him uſe all his intereſt for the obtaining that province, and put him upon a project, not ſo honeſt and commendable, as expedient for compaſſing his deſign; but he ſubmitted to neceſſity againſt his own inclination. There was at that time in Rome a woman called *Præcia*, who was celebrated for her wit and vivacity as well as beauty, though ſhe was in other reſpects no better than a common proſtitute. This woman knew how to make a

right

right uſe of the credit and favour ſhe had with thoſe who viſited her, and to apply it to the ſervice of her friends; ſo that ſhe was admired not only as a woman of wit and beauty, but as a zealous and uſeful friend, and thus had great credit and influence. But as ſoon as Cethegus was captivated, who was the man of greateſt authority in all Rome, ſhe from that time became abſolute; for nothing was tranſacted in public but by the advice and approbation of Cethegus, and Cethegus did nothing but with the conſent and by the direction of Præcia.

This woman Lucullus gained by flattery and preſents: and it was no ſmall matter of triumph to a woman of her pride and ambition, to employ her intereſt in favour of ſo great a man. The conſequence of this was, that Cethegus became a profeſſed friend and admirer of Lucullus, and ſolicited for him the government of Cilicia; which when he had once obtained, he was no longer under a neceſſity of courting the aſſiſtance either of Præcia, or Cethegus. The conduct of the war againſt Mithridates was unanimouſly voted to Lucullus, as the only perſon fit to be intruſted with it. For Pompey was ſtill employed in Spain againſt Sertorius, and Metellus was ſuperannuated; and they two were the only officers who could diſpute that command with Lucullus. However Cotta his colleague, with much difficulty prevailed on the ſenate to ſend him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and defend Bithynia.

Lucullus having raiſed a legion, paſſed over into Aſia. There he found the other forces of which his army was to be compoſed, but they had been all corrupted long before by luxury and avarice. Thoſe of them who were called *Fimbrians*, having been for a long time without any chief, were become headſtrong and ungovernable. Theſe were the men who by the command of Fimbria had ſlain

Flaccus the conſul and general, and theſe were they who afterward betrayed Fimbria to Sylla; but though they were an inſolent and lawleſs band, they were brave, hardy, and expert in war. Lucullus in a ſhort time humbled the inſolence of theſe, and diſciplined the others, who then firſt knew what it was to be under a good captain, and real commander; for before that they had been conſtantly humoured and flattered by their officers, and knew no obedience but to their own will.

As for the enemy's affairs, they ſtood thus. Mithridates's manner of making war was at firſt like that of the Sophiſts in their declamations, which have more pomp and ornament than ſubſtance and ſolidity. Thus his army was very ſplendid and magnificent in appearance, but vain and unſerviceable in effect. Accordingly he met with a ſignal diſgrace, and was moſt ſhamefully routed. This taught him to be wiſer for the future; ſo that when the war came to be renewed, he reduced his forces into a juſt and well-marſhalled army, formed not ſo much for ſhow as ſervice. He leſſened that confuſed multitude compoſed of ſo many people and nations, he put an end to thoſe menaces and bravadoes which were vented by the Barbarians in their various languages, and laid aſide all the armour adorned with gold and precious ſtones, which he looked on rather as the wealth of the conqueror, than a defence and ſecurity to the bearers. He provided his ſoldiers with ſwords formed like thoſe of the Romans, and with ſhields ſolid and ſubſtantial. He took care to have his horſes ſtrong and well trained, rather than magnificently harneſſed; he muſtered a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, armed and diſciplined after the manner of the Roman infantry, and ſixteen thouſand horſe, beſides a hundred chariots armed with long ſithes, and drawn each by four horſes. To this preparation for the land-ſervice he added a fleet not cumbered,

as

as before, with gilded pavilions, with baths and ſumptuous apartments for women, but ſtored with all ſorts of weapons, both offenſive and defenſive, and provided with money to pay the ſoldiers.

With this formidable preparation he invaded Bithynia, where the cities opened their gates, and received him jofully; and not only thoſe in Bithynia, but almoſt all the cities throughout Aſia, relapſed into their former diſtempers, being cruelly oppreſſed by the Roman publicans, and uſurers. Lucullus indeed afterwards delivered the country from thoſe harpies, who devoured the food of the inhabitants; but for the preſent he thought it ſufficient to admoniſh them to be more compaſſionate and reaſonable. This compoſed the minds of the people, and prevented a ſedition which was ready to break out in every quarter.

Whilſt Lucullus was thus employed, Cotta fancied that now was his time for action. Wherefore he prepared to encounter Mithridates; and receiving frequent informations that Lucullus was at hand, and that he was already advanced as far as Phrygia, he was the more forward to engage, thinking the victory already in his hands, and being deſirous to deprive his colleague of his ſhare in the honour of it. But, notwithſtanding all his confidence, he was routed both by ſea and land. In the naval engagement he loſt ſixty of his ſhips, with all the men that were on board; by land he loſt four thouſand men, and was then forced to fly to Chalcedon, where he was beſieged, from whence he could not eſcape unleſs Lucullus came to relieve him. There were ſome who preſſed Lucullus to leave Cota behind, and enter without delay into the territories of Mithridates, aſſuring him that he would find them in a weak defenceleſs condition. This was the language in general of all the ſoldiers, who highly reſented that Cotta ſhould not only ruin himſelf and thoſe who were with him by his folly

and temerity, but prevent them from obtaining victory, which was to be purchaſed without any danger. But Lucullus in a ſpeech to the army on that occaſion declared, that *he choſe rather to ſave one Roman than to be maſter of all the wealth of the enemy.* When Archelaus, who, in quality of the king's lieutenant, had fought his battles in the plains of Bœotia, but had afterwards quitted his ſervice, and joined with the Romans, demonſtrated to Lucullus that he need only ſhow himſelf in Pontus to have all the country declare for him, he replied, *It did not become him to be more timorous than a huntſman, who never leaves the chace of the wild beaſts to ſeek after ſport in their empty dens.* Having ſaid this, he marched againſt Mithridates with thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe.

As ſoon as he arrived within ſight of the enemy, he was aſtoniſhed at their numbers, and reſolved to avoid fighting, if poſſible, and ſpin out the war. But in ſpite of this reſolution, when Marius *, a Roman officer, who had been ſent by Sertorius out of Spain with ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of Mithridates, was advancing towards him, and provoked him to fight, he could no longer forbear, but drew up his army in order of battle. Both ſides were juſt ready to engage, when on a ſudden, without any previous viſible alteration of the weather, the ſky opened, and a great body of light fell down in the midſt between the two armies, in ſhape like a barrel, but in colour like molten ſilver. Both armies were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they immediately ſeparated without coming to blows. We are told that this prodigy happened near a place called *Otryæ* in Phrygia.

Lucullus conſidering that no wealth, no proviſions were ſufficient to ſuſtain for any conſiderable time ſuch an innumerable multitude as Mithridates

* Appian calls him *Varius*.

had

had in his army, eſpecially in the face of the enemy, ordered one of the priſoners to be brought before him, and aſked him in the firſt place, *how many comrades he had quartered with him?* and ſecondly, *how much proviſion he had left behind him in his tent?* when the priſoner had given him an anſwer to thoſe queſtions, he ordered him to be removed; then propoſing the ſame to a ſecond, and after that to a third, he compared from their anſwers the quantity of proviſions with the number of men Mithridates had in his army, and computed that the enemy could not have above three or four days ſubſiſtence remaining. This confirmed him in his former reſolution of ſpinning out the time without running any hazard. Wherefore he ordered his camp to be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, ſo that he might be at leiſure to watch the enemy, and make his advantage of their neceſſities.

In the mean time Mithridates endeavoured to ſurpriſe the Cyzicenians, who had extremely ſuffered in the late engagement near Chalcedon, where they loſt three thouſand men, and ten ſhips. The better to conceal his deſign from Lucullus, he began his march after ſupper in a dark rainy night, and uſed ſo much expedition, that the next morning by day-break he arrived before the place, and encamped on the Adraſtian hill *.

Lucullus being informed of this motion, immediately followed him; and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obſcurity of the night, as he might well have done, he ſat down with his troops near a village called *Thracea*, a convenient poſt, which gave him the command of the whole country, and of all the paſſes, through which the enemy's proviſions were of neceſſity to be conducted. Whereupon foreſeeing what would unavoidably be

* The whole plain was called *Adraſtia*, and *the plain of Adraſtia*, from a temple in the city, conſecrated by Adraſtus to the goddeſs Nemeſis, who from thence was likewiſe called *Adraſtia*.

the event, he did not conceal it from his ſoldiers, but as ſoon as they had entrenched themſelves, and ſecured their camp, he called them together, and in a cheerful ſpeech aſſured them that in a few days he would ſecure to them the victory without any expenſe of blood.

Mithridates divided his forces into ten camps, with which he inveſted Cyzicus by land, and with his ſhips by ſea blocked up the ſtrait which ſeparates the city from the continent *. The inhabitants were fully reſolved to make a vigorous defence, and to endure the utmoſt extremity rather than forſake the Romans. That which troubled them moſt was, that they knew not where Lucullus was, and heard nothing of him, though at that time his army was within ſight of their walls; but they were impoſed upon by the Mithridatians, who ſhowing them the Romans incamped on the hills, ſaid to them, *Do you ſee thoſe troops? Thoſe are the Medes and Armenians whom Tigranes has ſent to the aſſiſtance of Mithridates.* Theſe words put them out of all hopes of ſuccour; for they ſaw themſelves hemmed in on every ſide, and all the country about them covered with the enemy, ſo that they could not flatter themſelves with the thoughts of any relief, though Lucullus himſelf ſhould come to their aſſiſtance. Whilſt they were under theſe anxieties, Demonax, who had been ſent by Archelaus, got into the place, and aſſured them that Lucullus lay within view. At firſt they could not believe him, but thought he came with forged news to prevent them from being diſpirited. But juſt at that time a boy who had been taken by the enemy, and made his eſcape, returned into the city, and

* Cyzicus is ſituated upon the point of the peninſula, in ſuch a manner, that it paſſes for an iſland, and is ſo termed by Apollonius, Strabo, and Pliny. "Cyzicus," ſays Strabo, "is upon the Propontis, and is an iſland joined to the continent by two bridges, near to which is a city of the ſame name, with two havens capable of containing two hundred veſſels," *lib.* xii.

was

was brought before them. They immediately queſtioned him, and aſked him, *where Lucullus lay with his army?* This ſet the boy a-laughing, for he thought they had a mind to make themſelves merry with him; but when he ſaw they were in earneſt, he pointed with his finger, and ſhowed them the camp of the Romans. This revived their hopes, and animated them with freſh courage and reſolution.

There is near the river of Cyzicus a lake called *Daſcylitis*, on which are boats of conſiderable burden. Lucullus made choice of one of the largeſt, and cauſed it to be haled aſhore, and to be carried on a waggon to the ſea; there he put on board as many ſoldiers as it would hold, and ſent it to Cyzicus. This boat paſſed along unſeen in the dead of the night, and landed the ſoldiers ſafe in the city.

The gods themſelves, as if pleaſed with the courage and conſtancy of the Cyzicenians, ſeemed to ſupport and fortify them with many tokens of their benevolence, and among others, with this that follows. The feaſt of Proſerpine fell out during the ſiege, wherein they were to make an offering of a black heifer; for want of which the beſieged prepared one in paſte, and carried it to the altar *. That which had been conſecrated to the goddeſs, and was deſtined for the ſacrifice, was at that time feeding with the reſt of the herd belonging to the Cyzicenians, on the other ſide of the ſtrait in the adjacent continent. The very day of the feſtival this heifer quitted her companions, took to the water, ſwam acroſs that arm of the ſea, entered the city, and preſented herſelf at the altar. The night following the goddeſs appeared in a dream to Ari-

* This cuſtom is founded upon a law of great antiquity, by which it was allowed to offer artificial victims when they could not procure the natural, or could not offer them. Thus Porphyry writes, that Pythagoras ſacrificed an ox, not a living ox, but one made of paſte.

ſtagoras

ſtagoras the public ſchoolmaſter, and ſaid, *Behold I have brought the Libyan piper againſt the trumpeter of Pontus: go therefore, and bid thy fellow-citizens be of good heart.* While the Cyzicenians were at a loſs what interpretation to put upon this oracle, early in the morning a high wind aroſe, and produced a violent ſtorm at ſea. Immediately the king's battering engines, the wonderful contrivance of Niconides the Theſſalian, gave a terrible crack, and made ſuch a noiſe as plainly foretold what was to follow. This was ſucceeded by a ſtrong ſouth wind, which with an incredible violence deſtroyed all thoſe works, and in a moment's ſpace levelled with the ground a wooden tower which was a hundred cubits high. It is ſaid that Minerva appeared that night in a dream to ſeveral of the inhabitants of Ilium; ſhe ſeemed all in a ſweat, ſhowed part of her robe torn, and told them, *ſhe was juſt come from relieving the Cyzicenians.* And there was afterwards ſhown at Ilium, a pillar with an inſcription in memory of that miracle.

Mithridates had been ſo impoſed upon by his officers, that he was kept hitherto ignorant of the condition of his army, and the neceſſities to which his ſoldiers were reduced; ſo that he was exceedingly provoked at the Cyzicenians for their obſtinate defence. But when he came to underſtand that his men were ready to periſh for want of food, and that they were forced to feed on human fleſh, then his ambition ſunk on a ſudden, and he abated much of his uſual pride and arrogance. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical oſtentatious manner, but proſecuted it in earneſt, and fixed the ſeat of it (according to the proverb) *in the very bellies of his ſoldiers*; for he had ſo effectually ſecured all the avenues, that it was impoſſible for him to receive any of his convoys. Wherefore he watched his opportunity, whilſt Lucullus was beſieging a certain fort, and detached almoſt all his horſe

horſe with the ſumpters, and ſuch of the foot as could beſt be ſpared in that conjuncture, to fetch proviſions out of Bithynia. As ſoon as Lucullus was informed of this motion, he returned to the camp, and early the next morning in a very tempeſtuous ſeaſon purſued them with ten cohorts, and ſome of his cavalry. The ſnow fell in ſuch abundance, and the weather was ſo cold, that ſeveral of the men being unable to bear up againſt it, were left behind. He continued his march with the reſt, and overtook the enemy near the river Ryndacus, where he attacked, and defeated them. So great was the overthrow, that the women of Apollonia came out to ſeize the baggage, and ſtrip the ſlain. Beſide thoſe who fell in the action, amounting to a very great number, the Romans took fifteen thouſand priſoners, ſix thouſand horſes, and beaſts of burden without number, with all which booty Lucullus returned to his camp, paſſing by the entrenchments of the enemy. And here I cannot but wonder at Salluſt, who ſays, that this was the firſt time camels had ever been ſeen by the Romans; for how can it be thought that thoſe who formerly fought under Scipio againſt Antiochus *, or thoſe who lately overthrew Archelaus at Orchomenus, and Chæronea, had not ſeen any camels in thoſe engagements.

Mithridates now reſolved to fly without any further delay; and in order to give Lucullus a diverſion, he thought it adviſeable to ſend Ariſtonicus, who had the command of his fleet, into the Grecian ſeas. But juſt as Ariſtonicus was ready to ſet ſail, ſome of his own people betrayed him, and delivered him into the hands of Lucullus, together with ten thouſand pieces of gold, which he was to carry with him to corrupt part of the Roman ar-

* For that Antiochus had camels in his army, appears clearly from Livy, *lib.* 37. 40. *Ante hunc equitatum falcatæ quadrigæ, & cameli, quos appellant dromadas.*

my.

my. Immediately upon this Mithridates fled by ſea, whilſt his generals marched off with the army by land. Lucullus followed them cloſe, and coming up with them near the river Granicus, he ſlew twenty thouſand of them upon the ſpot, and made an infinite number of priſoners. It is ſaid, that there fell in this war near three hundred thouſand men, as well ſoldiers as ſervants, and others who followed the army.

Immediately after this Lucullus made his entry into Cyzicus, where he was received with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy and reſpect. Thence he ſailed into the Helleſpont, with a deſign to draw his ſhips together, and form a navy. As he was coaſting along, he landed in Troas, and lodged in the temple of Venus. Here, whilſt he was aſleep, he thought the goddeſs appeared to him and ſaid,

Why ſleeps the lion when the fawns are nigh?

At theſe words he awaked, roſe immediately, and ſending for his friends, while it was yet dark, related to them his viſion. He had hardly finiſhed, before ſome perſons who came from Ilium, informed him, that thirteen of Mithridates's galleys were ſeen off the Grecian port *, bound for Lemnos. Immediately he ſailed towards them, took them all, and killed Iſidorus their admiral. When this was done, he proceeded in purſuit of ſome other ſhips which then lay at anchor. As ſoon as the officers ſaw him approach, they haled their veſſels aſhore, and from their decks very much incommoded the Romans, who could not ſurround them, nor could their galleys, which were kept by the waves in continual motion, make any impreſſion upon thoſe of the enemy that were fixed in the ſand, and remained unſhaken. At laſt, having diſcovered one landing-place, he with great difficulty put ſome of the

* That is the port where the Grecians landed when they went to the ſiege of Troy.

choiceſt

choiceſt of his men aſhore, and they falling upon the enemies rear, killed many of them, and forced the reſt to cut their cables, and ſtand out to ſea; but crouding all out at once in great hurry and confuſion, they either fell foul on one another, or were driven upon the beaks of the galleys of Lucullus. A great number of the enemy were ſlain in this action. Among thoſe who were taken priſoners was Marius, the ſame officer that had been ſent by Sertorius to Mithridates. He had but one eye; and Lucullus had given ſtrict charge to his men before the engagement not to kill any one-eyed man; for he was deſirous to reſerve Marius for another ſort of puniſhment, and put him to an ignominious death.

When this action was over, he haſtened in purſuit of Mithridates, and was in hopes to find him ſtill in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius, whom he had detached with ſome ſhips to Nicomedia, in order to ſtop him in his flight. But Voconius loitering in Samothracia, where he was initiated in the myſteries of the Cabiri *, and ſpent his time in celebrating feſtivals, gave Mithridates an opportunity to make his eſcape. For that prince made all poſſible haſte to reach Pontus before Lucullus could come up to him. In his retreat he met with a ſtorm which diſperſed his fleet, and ſunk many of his ſhips, ſo that for ſeveral days together the coaſt was covered with dead bodies and wrecks, which by the violence of the ſtorm had been driven aſhore. The king himſelf was on board a ſhip of burden, which drew too much water to make to

* Samothrace was particularly celebrated for the myſteries of the Dii Cabiri, who were devoutly worſhipped in that iſland. Thoſe myſteries were held in the higheſt veneration, for the people were perſuaded, that they who had been once initiated became immediately more juſt and more holy, that thoſe gods aſſiſted them in all times of danger, and that particularly by their help they were preſerved from ſhipwreck. For this reaſon, perſons of the greateſt quality were very deſirous to be initiated.

land,

land, and was too unwieldy to live at ſea in that ſtreſs of weather; ſo that he was conſtrained to truſt to the mercy of a piratical crew, and fling himſelf into their veſſel, which beyond his hopes landed him ſafe at Heraclea, a town in Pontus.

About this time Lucullus ſent a very boaſting meſſage to the ſenate, which however was not followed by any puniſhment from heaven. For the ſenate having decreed him three thouſand talents for the fitting out a fleet, and to put an end to the war, he himſelf oppoſed it, and wrote in very ſtrong and confident terms, that he ſhould be able without that ſupply to perform the ſervice, with only the ſhips of the allies. And this by divine aſſiſtance he executed. For it was ſaid, that the late ſtorm by which the royal navy was deſtroyed, had been raiſed by Diana, to puniſh the ſacrilege committed by Mithridates, who pillaged her temple in Priapus, and ſtole away her ſtatue.

There were many in the army who perſuaded Lucullus to defer the proſecution of the war. But he, inſtead of liſtening to that advice, urged on, and paſſing through Bithynia and Galatia, penetrated into Pontus. In this expedition he ſuffered ſo much at firſt from the ſcarcity of proviſions, that he was under a neceſſity of forcing thirty thouſand Galatians to follow the army, every man carrying a medimnus of wheat upon his ſhoulders. But as he advanced on, ſubduing every place through which he marched, he at laſt met with ſuch plenty that an ox was ſold in the camp for one drachma, and a ſlave for four. As for the other booty, it was ſo little valued, that the ſoldiers would not be at the trouble to collect it, or at leaſt they waſted and deſtroyed it; for there was no opportunity of ſelling it where every man had more than was ſufficient. But as in their incurſions as far as Themiſcyra, and the plains which are watered by the

the river Thermodon, they did nothing but ravage and ruin the country, this raiſed a clamour in the army againſt him. They complained that he took all the towns and cities by capitulation, and none by ſtorm, ſo that he gave the ſoldiers no opportunity to enrich themſelves by the plunder. *Even now*, ſaid they, *he leaves Amiſus behind him, a rich and opulent city, unable to ſuſtain a regular ſiege; yet even Amiſus is to be left untouched, and we are to be led into the deſerts of the Chaldæans and Tibarenians, in queſt of Mithridates.* Lucullus gave no heed to thoſe reflections at that time, little thinking they would prove of ſo dangerous a tendency, or that the ſoldiers could ever break out into ſuch a degree of mutiny and rebellion, as they did ſome time after. He liſtened more earneſtly to thoſe who reproached him for his being dilatory, and waſting ſo much time in taking in a number of places that were of no conſequence, and in the mean time allowing Mithridates time to recruit and fortify himſelf. *That is what I deſign*, ſaid he, *and am contriving by my delay, that he may grow great again, and gather ſo conſiderable an army as may induce him to ſtand, and not fly before us. For do you not ſee the vaſt and boundleſs wilderneſs behind? Caucaſus is within his reach, with many vaſt mountains, ſufficient to ſhelter not only Mithridates, but an infinite number of kings, if they have a mind to hide themſelves, and decline fighting. It is a journey of but a few days from the country of the Cabiri * to the kingdom of Armenia. There Tigranes holds his ſeat, that king of kings, who by his power has diſſolved the Parthian empire in Aſia, tranſplanted ſeveral Grecian cities into Media, conquered Cyria and Paleſtine, exterminated the royal deſcendents of Seleucus, and carried away their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful*

* It appears from this paſſage in Plutarch, and another in Strabo, that there was a diſtrict on the borders of Phrygia, called *the country of the Cabiri*. For the worſhip of thoſe gods had prevailed in many parts of Aſia.

prince is not only the ally, but the ſon-in-law of Mithridates. Is it to be ſuppoſed, that if once we force him to fly for refuge to his court, and implore his aſſiſtance, he will refuſe to aid him, and not rather declare war againſt us in his behalf? So that, by being too keen in the purſuit of Mithridates, we ſhall draw upon us the arms of Tigranes, who has long wanted a pretence for a quarrel, and can never meet with one more ſpecious and honourable, than that of protecting his father-in-law, a prince reduced by us to the laſt extremities. Why muſt this happen by our means? Why muſt we inſtruct Mithridates in that which he is ignorant of? Why muſt we point out to him the meaſures he is to take? And whilſt he looks on it as a ſtep beneath his dignity and courage, why muſt we force him into the arms of Tigranes? Is it not much better for us to give him time and opportunity to recruit his broken army with his own ſubjects, and ſo have to do only with the troops of Cotchos, with the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, whom we have ſo often conquered, than to ſtir up new enemies againſt us, and be forced to contend with the Medes and Armenians? Upon theſe motives Lucullus ſat down before Amiſus, which he rather blocked up than beſieged in form; and when the winter was over, he left Murena in charge there, and went himſelf againſt Mithridates, who was then encamped in the plains of the Cabiri, where he reſolved to wait for the Romans at the head of an army of forty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, in whom he placed his chief confidence. With this army he paſſed the river Lycus, and offered battle to the Romans.

The firſt encounter was between the cavalry, in which that of Lucullus was worſted, and among the priſoners taken by the Barbarians on that occaſion, was a Roman officer of reputation, called *Pomponius*. This man being dangerouſly wounded, was brought before Mithridates, who ſeeing him in that condition, ſaid, *If I take care of thee, and get thee cured, wilt thou be my friend for the future?*

future? To which Pomponius replied, *Yes, if you will be at amity with the Romans, otherwiſe I muſt be your irreconcileable enemy.* Mithridates admired his virtue, and did him no injury.

Lucullus thought the plain an unſafe ſituation for his army, becauſe the enemy outnumbered him in horſe; but at the ſame time he durſt not venture to remove up into the high lands, to which the march was long and difficult. Whilſt he was in this perplexity, ſome Greeks, who had hid themſelves in a cave, where ſome Roman ſoldiers happened to find them, were brought before him. The eldeſt of theſe, called *Artemidorus*, undertook to conduct Lucullus and his army to a ſafe advantageous poſt, where there was a fort that commanded the plains of Cabiri. Lucullus truſted to him, and as ſoon as it grew dark, marched with his army, having firſt kindled a great many fires in his camp, and got through the narrow paſſes without any danger. The next morning, the enemy ſaw him commodiouſly encamped in ſuch a manner that they could not force him to fight if he declined it, and if he thought fit to engage, he had the advantage of the ground on his ſide.

When neither Lucullus nor Mithridates were as yet determined to fight, it is ſaid, that ſome of Mithridates's ſoldiers by chance unharboured a ſtag, and hunted him, and being obſerved by the Romans they went and croſſed them upon the chace. This ended in an obſtinate engagement, wherein both ſides were ſupported by freſh forces occaſionally detached from the two armies, till at laſt Mithridates's party prevailed. When the Romans beheld from their entrenchments the flight of their companions, they were ſeized with ſhame and indignation, and ran to Lucullus, earneſtly preſſing him to lead them out, and give the ſignal for battle. But he choſe rather to make them ſenſible of what importance the preſence of a ſkilful general is, e-

ven in the moſt ſudden and deſperate caſes. Wherefore he ſtrictly commanded them to keep within the camp, whilſt he deſcended in perſon to the plain, where he ſeized on the firſt fugitives that he met, and commanded them to ſtand, and turn back with him. Theſe obeying, the reſt followed their example, ſo that rallying all together they quickly drove back the enemy, and purſued them to their very camp. When Lucullus was returned, he ordered thoſe troops to undergo that ignominious puniſhment which the Roman diſcipline has provided for thoſe that fly in an engagement. He commanded them to dig a trench twelve feet deep in their looſe tunics, whilſt the reſt of the army ſtood by and looked on.

There was at that time in Mithridates's camp, a perſon of great power, and high rank among the Dandarians, (a barbarous people living near the lake Mæotis), called *Olthacus*, a man remarkable for ſtrength and courage in battle, and for prudence and ſagacity in the conduct of affairs; beſide this he was, in his behaviour and converſation, pleaſant, affable, and courteous. There being a conſtant emulation and contention for ſuperiority between him and the other great men of his country, he promiſed Mithridates to undertake a very bold enterpriſe, which was to kill Lucullus. Mithridates highly commended his zeal, and, as it had been agreed between them, offered him ſome indignities, which he ſeemingly reſented, and accordingly went over to Lucullus. He was received by him with all the marks of eſteem and reſpect; for his name was well known in the Roman army. After ſome ſhort trial of his abilities, Lucullus was ſo much pleaſed with his ſagacity, diligence, and addreſs, that he admitted him to his table, and into his council. When the Dandarian thought he had a fair opportunity for putting his deſign in execution, he commanded his ſervants to lead his horſe

horſe out of the camp; and in the mean time, he himſelf, while the ſoldiers were refreſhing and repoſing themſelves in the ſhade, it being then the middle of the day, went to the general's tent, not at all ſuſpecting that entrance would be denied him, who was ſo familiar with the general, and came under pretence of extraordinary buſineſs; and he would have certainly been admitted, had not ſleep, which has deſtroyed many captains, ſaved Lucullus. For Menedemus one of the officers of his bedchamber, who was ſtanding at the door, told Olthacus, *that it was altogether unfit to ſee him at that ſeaſon, ſince, after long watching and hard labour, he was juſt then laid down to repoſe himſelf.* Olthacus would admit of no denial, but ſtill perſiſted, ſaying, *that he muſt go in to diſcourſe with him upon ſome affairs of the higheſt importance*; upon this Menedemus grew angry, and replied, *That nothing was more important than the ſafety of Lucullus*, and ſo thruſt him away with both hands. This terrified Olthacus, ſo that he immediately left the camp, took horſe, and returned to Mithridates, without having put his deſign in execution. Thus in public affairs, as in medicines, opportunity either ſaves or deſtroys, as it is favourable or unfriendly.

Some time after this Lucullus detached an officer called *Sornatius* with ten cohorts to cover a convoy; upon which Mithridates ordered out Menander one of his generals to attack him. Sornatius encountered him, killed a great number of his men upon the ſpot, and put the reſt to flight. A few days after Adrianus was ſent on the ſame occaſion with a conſiderable force, that the army might be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions; and Mithridates ſent after him Menemachus and Myro with a large body both of horſe and foot, to intercept him. But of all theſe it is ſaid that only two returned to the camp, the reſt being cut off by the Romans. Mi-

thridates concealed the loſs, giving it out, that it was not near ſo great as was reported, and that it was occaſioned chiefly by the unſkilfulneſs of the commanders. But Adrianus in great pomp paſſed by his camp, having many waggons full of corn, and other booty; the ſight of which flung Mithridates into deſpair, and put the army into a terrible conſternation. From that moment it was reſolved to remain there no longer.

The chief officers of the court began to convey their goods away privately, but would not allow the ſoldiers to do the ſame; they however, thronging together in a tumultuous manner at the gates, fell a plundering the baggage, killing thoſe that had charge of it, without ſparing even their maſters. Among theſe Dorilaus, one of the king's lieutenants, was ſlain merely for the ſake of his purple robe; and Hermeus the prieſt was trodden to death in the gate. Mithridates himſelf got out in the croud, without ſo much as a horſe, a ſervant, or equerry to attend him; till at laſt one of his eunuchs called *Ptolemy*, ſeeing him hurried along in the general torrent, diſmounted, and gave him his horſe. The Romans were by this time come up ſo near, that he was juſt upon the point of being taken. Avarice only cauſed them to miſs of the prey they had been ſo long hunting after, at the expenſe of ſo much labour, ſo many dangers, and ſuch obſtinate engagements, and deprived Lucullus of the reward of all his victories. They were juſt come up with the horſe on which the king was mounted, when one of the mules laden with the king's treaſure ſtepped into the road between him and them, either by accident, or becauſe the king had ſo ordered it on purpoſe; the ſoldiers in an inſtant quitted the purſuit, and fell to plunder, quarrelling among themſelves about it, and ſo let the king eſcape. Nor was this the only damage Lucullus ſuffered from their covetouſneſs. Calliſtratus the king's

king's principal ſecretary was taken, and ordered by Lucullus to be conducted to the camp, and there kept in ſafe cuſtody; but they who were charged with him, being informed that he had five hundred pieces of gold quilted in his girdle, ſlew him for the ſake of it: notwithſtanding which Lucullus gave up the king's camp to be plundered by them.

After this Lucullus reduced the city of Cabira, and ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes, wherein he found great treaſures. He likewiſe found all the priſons belonging to them crouded with Grecian captives, and many princes nearly related to Mithridates, who by his order had been confined in them. As thoſe poor wretches had for a long time conſidered themſelves as dead, they eſteemed the liberty to which they were now reſtored by the favour of Lucullus not ſo much a deliverance, as a reſurrection, and new life. There was likewiſe taken in one of theſe caſtles a ſiſter of the king's, called *Nyſſa*; and this proved to her a happy captivity. For the wives, and other ſiſters of that prince, who had been removed further from danger, and thought themſelves in a place of ſafety near the city of Pharnacia, died miſerably, Mithridates having in his flight ſent Bacchidas the eunuch thither with orders to diſpatch them.

There were among theſe unfortunate women two unmarried ſiſters of the king, about forty years old, called *Roxana* and *Statira*, and two of his wives, both Ionians, one of Chios called *Berenice*, and the other of Miletus named *Monima*. The laſt of theſe was celebrated throughout all Greece; for the king, being deeply in love with her, had omitted nothing that could be thought of to engage her, and offered her a preſent at one time of fifteen thouſand pieces of gold; notwithſtanding which ſhe held out to the laſt, and rejected all his offers, till he had agreed to marry her, had ſent her a diadem, and declared her queen. From that time

time ſhe paſſed her days in great affliction, bewailing that beauty which inſtead of an affectionate huſband had procured her an imperious maſter, and by means of which, inſtead of enjoying the comforts of a family, and of conjugal ſociety, ſhe had been confined in a cloſe priſon under the guard of Barbarians, where, far removed from Greece, ſhe had only enjoyed in a dream the happineſs ſhe expected, and had loſt thoſe real pleaſures which ſhe enjoyed in her own country.

As ſoon as Bacchidas was arrived, he ſignified to thoſe princeſſes the orders he had received from Mithridates, allowing each of them to chuſe what ſort of death ſhe liked beſt, as the moſt eaſy and expeditious. Monima took the diadem from her head, tied it about her neck, and endeavoured to hang herſelf with it; but as it proved too weak for the purpoſe, and broke, *Accurſed fillet*, ſaid ſhe, *art thou uſeleſs to me even in this?* Then flinging it from her, and ſpitting upon it, ſhe held out her neck to Bacchidas. Berenice had prepared a potion for herſelf, but at her mother's entreaty, who ſtood by, ſhe gave her part of it. Each had her ſhare of the poiſon, which prevailed over the weaker body; but Berenice's doſe being not ſufficient for her, ſhe ſtruggled a long time in extreme torture, till at laſt, Bacchidas being in haſte, ſhe was ſtrangled. It is ſaid that one of the unmarried ſiſters drank the poiſon with the bittereſt curſes and execrations. But Statira uttered nothing reproachful or unbecoming her dignity; on the contrary, ſhe commended her brother, *who in that time of his own danger was not unmindful of them, but carefully provided that they might die without ſhame or diſgrace.*

Lucullus, being a tender and good-natured man, was deeply concerned at theſe things. He continued his march as far as Talauri, where he was informed that Mithridates had quitted that place four days before his arrival, and had betaken himſelf to

Tigranes

Tigranes in Armenia. Upon this he returned back; and when he had ſubdued the Chaldæans, Tibarenians, the leſſer Armenia, and the ſeveral towns and fortreſſes there, he ſent Appius to Tigranes, requiring him to deliver up Mithridates. In the mean time he went himſelf to Amiſus, which ſtill held out againſt him. The long defence which this city made againſt the arms of the Romans, was entirely owing to Callimachus the governor. For as he was a conſummate engineer, capable of inventing and forming all ſorts of warlike engines, and had a genius fertile in ſuch ſtratagems and contrivances as are of uſe in a ſiege, he gave the Romans a great deal of trouble, for which however he paid dearly in the end. He was at this time circumvented by a ſtratagem of Lucullus, who gave orders for a vigorous attack at that time of the day when it was cuſtomary for the ſoldiers to quit the works and refreſh themſelves. This unexpected aſſault ſucceeded tō his wiſh, and made him maſter of one part of the wall. When Callimachus ſaw the place was no longer tenable, he left it, but firſt ſet it on fire, either becauſe he envied the Romans the booty, or to ſecure his flight. For no one took any notice of thoſe who flung themſelves into boats in order to eſcape; but the moment the flames began to ſpread, the Romans fell a-plundering. Lucullus was grieved to behold the deſtruction of ſo conſiderable a city, and endeavoured all he could to aſſiſt it from without, commanding his men to do their utmoſt to extinguiſh the flames. But there was not a man would obey his orders; inſtead of that, claſhing their arms and ſhouting aloud, they all demanded the plunder, ſo that Lucullus was forced to give way, and abandon the city to them. He thought indeed this might be a means of preſerving it from the fire; but the event proved contrary to his expectations; for as the ſoldiers were rummaging every where with torches in their hands to diſcover what

what might be concealed in the moſt obſcure places, they themſelves ſet fire to moſt of the houſes.

When Lucullus made his entry into the city the day following, and beheld that terrible deſolation, he burſt into tears, and complained to his friends that attended him, ſaying, *I ever looked on Sylla as the happieſt of men; but I never admired his good fortune ſo much as I do at preſent. He had a mind to ſave Athens, and was able to do it; but my infelicity is ſuch, that while I am ambitious to imitate him, I become like Mummius* *. Nevertheleſs he endeavoured to ſave as much of the city as was poſſible; and at the ſame time alſo, by the favour of providence, the rain concurred to extinguiſh the fire. He himſelf before his departure repaired the ruins in great meaſure; he kindly received the inhabitants who had fled, and were willing to return, and ſettled as many Greeks as had a mind to live there, appropriating a hundred and twenty furlongs for the territories of the city.

This city was a colony of the Athenians, who built it in the time of their greateſt proſperity, and whilſt they were maſters at ſea. For which reaſon they who choſe to quit Athens on account of Ariſtion's tyranny ſettled here, and were made free; but while they fled from the evils which oppreſſed them at home, they met with others no leſs ſevere abroad. As many of theſe as ſurvived, Lucullus furniſhed with cloaths; and giving them two hundred drachmas apiece, he ſent them home into their own country.

Tyrannio the grammarian being taken priſoner among the reſt, Murena begged him of Lucullus, and having obtained his requeſt ſet him free; wherein he made an abſurd uſe of Lucullus's favour; for Lucullus would not allow that a perſon of Tyrannio's great learning ought firſt to be made

* He took and deſtroyed Corinth about eighty years before.

a

a ſlave, and then enfranchiſed afterwards; for that legal liberty which was given him implied the loſs of his natural liberty. But this was not the only inſtance in which Murena ſhowed himſelf much inferior to his general in politeneſs and generoſity.

When Lucullus left Amiſus, he went to viſit the towns in Aſia; for being then at ſome leiſure from the affairs of war, he thought he could not employ his time better, than in examining into the civil adminiſtration. And indeed it was high time for him ſo to do, in a province which ſuffered inexpreſſible calamities from a long and total neglect of law and juſtice. It had been cruelly haraſſed and exhauſted by the grievous extortions of publicans and uſurers; inſomuch that the miſerable inhabitants were forced privately to ſell the handſomeſt of their ſons, and virgin daughters, and publicly expoſe to ſale the holy offerings of their temples, the conſecrated images, and pictures of their deities, and after all to deliver up themſelves as ſlaves to their creditors; and even that ſeemed to be a ſtate of relief from their former condition, which was much more cruel and inſupportable, when they were thrown into priſons, put to the torture, expoſed naked to the ſcorching beams of the ſun in ſummer, and plunged deep in mire or ſnow in the winter; ſo that even bondage itſelf ſeemed to them a happineſs and a deliverance.

Lucullus ſoon adminiſtered a remedy to all theſe evils. He firſt reduced intereſt to the rate of one *per cent* *. In the ſecond place, he cancelled all thoſe debts where the intereſt ran higher than the principal. The third, and moſt conſiderable proviſion was, that the creditor ſhould receive a fourth part of the debtor's income, and that he who had exacted intereſt upon intereſt, ſhould loſe both principal and intereſt. By this regulation the whole

* *i. e.* One *per cent.* per month, which was the legal rate of intereſt among the Romans.

debt

debt was cleared in four years, and the effects that had been mortgaged, returned to the owners.

Theſe immenſe debts throughout the province were originally occaſioned by the fine of twenty thouſand talents impoſed by Sylla, and the province had paid it more than twice over; but thoſe inſatiable uſurers, by creating intereſt upon intereſt, had raiſed it up to a hundred and twenty thouſand talents.

Theſe farmers, and uſurers, who had been thus deprived by Lucullus of their enormous profit, complained loudly againſt him as one that had done them the greateſt injury. They carried their complaints to Rome, where they found mercenary pleaders enough, who for the ſake of great fees were ready to plead for them. Beſides this, many of the leading men in the ſtate had borrowed money of them, ſo that their intereſt was very powerful. But Lucullus had not only the good will of all ſuch as had been benefited by him, but was beloved by the inhabitants of other provinces, who envied thoſe whoſe good fortune it was to fall under his government.

Appius Clodius who had been ſent ambaſſador to Tigranes, and was brother to the wife of Lucullus, at firſt truſted to the guides provided for him by the country, who being all the king's ſubjects, dealt perfidiouſly with him, and inſtead of conducting him the neareſt way, led him round about, over the higher and more remote provinces. At laſt, being made ſenſible of their treachery by one of his freemen, a Syrian by nation, he diſmiſſed his Barbarian guides, and ſtriking out of that long and deceitful road, he in a few days after paſſed the Euphrates, and arrived at Antiochia of Daphne *.

* It was ſo called becauſe about forty furlongs from the city there was a village and grove conſecrated to Daphne, a delightful place watered with many fountains. In the middle of this grove, which was fourſcore furlongs in compaſs, was the temple of Apollo and Diana, and a ſanctuary.

He

He was ordered to wait there for Tigranes, who was at that time abſent upon an expedition into Phœnicia, where he was reducing as many of the towns in that country as had not then ſubmitted to him. Clodius loſt no time in this interval, but gained over to the Roman intereſt many princes and men of power in thoſe parts, who had been forced unwillingly to ſubmit to the king of Armenia; among them was Zarbienus king of Gordyena. And when ſeveral of the conquered cities ſent their deputies privately to him, he aſſured them of Lucullus's aſſiſtance and protection, but adviſed them to lie ſtill for the preſent. For the Armenian government was inſupportable to the Greeks; but that which was moſt grievous to them was the exceſſive pride of the king, who was rendered ſo inſolent by his ſucceſs, as to imagine, that whatever the world eſteemed valuable or excellent, was not only in his power, but deſigned for his uſe and enjoyment. For from a ſmall and inconſiderable beginning he had ſubdued many nations, broken the power of the Parthians more than any man before him, and filled Meſopotamia with Greeks, whom he had tranſplanted thither out of Cicilia and Cappadocia. He had likewiſe drawn out of their own country the Arabs called *Scenites*; and forcing them to depart from their ancient cuſtoms, he obliged them to ſettle nearer him for the improvement of trade. He had many kings in his court, who ſerved him as ſlaves, of whom four particularly were conſtantly about his perſon in the quality of a body-guard. They ran before him on foot in a ſingle veſt when he went on horſeback; and when he ſat on his throne, and gave audience, they ſtood near him with folded hands, which among thoſe people paſſed for the moſt humble poſture, and ſtrongeſt confeſſion of ſevitude and ſubjection, by which they declared that they had renounced all manner of claim to a ſtate of liberty and independence, and

delivered their bodies up to their maſter, as being even more prepared to ſuffer whatever he would inflict than to execute any thing for his ſervice.

Appius was not in the leaſt terrified, or aſtoniſhed at this tragical appearance; but when he received his firſt audience from Tigranes, he told him plainly, *that he was come to demand Mithridates, as due to the triumphs of Lucullus, and in caſe of refuſal, to declare war againſt Tigranes.* Though the king did all he could to preſerve a ſteadineſs of countenance, and ſeemed to hear what was ſaid with a ſmiling air, it was viſible to thoſe who were near him, that his colour changed at ſuch a liberty of ſpeech in that young Roman, who was the firſt that had preſumed to ſpeak his mind freely to him for the ſpace of twenty-five years; for ſo long had he reigned, or rather tyranniſed. His anſwer to Appius was, *that he would not deliver up Mithridates; and that if the Romans began the war, he was in a condition to defend himſelf.* He was highly offended at Lucullus, who in his letters gave him the title of *King* only, and did not ſtyle him *king of kings*; wherefore in his anſwer he would not give him the title of *Imperator*. However he ſent many valuable preſents to Appius, and when he refuſed them, he ſent him others of a ſtill greater value. Appius, that it might not be thought he rejected his preſents out of any particular averſion or enmity, accepted of a goblet, and returned with great expedition to his general.

Tigranes had not as yet condeſcended ſo much as to ſee Mithridates, or to ſpeak to him, though he was his father-in-law, and a prince fallen from a mighty empire, but treated him with the utmoſt pride and contempt, keeping him at a diſtance from him, guarded like a priſoner of ſtate, in a place that was marſhy and unhealthy. But upon this embaſſy of Appius he immediately ſent for him to court, with the higheſt demonſtrations of honour, and tokens of friendſhip. There in a private conference

ference they healed their mutual jealouſies, to the ruin of their favourites, who bore all the blame. In the number of theſe unfortunate courtiers was Metrodorus of Scepſis, a perſon of great eloquence and learning. He was beſides in ſuch great credit and intimacy with Mithridates, that he was called *the king's father*.

Mithridates had ſent this man ambaſſador to Tigranes, to deſire his aſſiſtance againſt the Romans. When Metrodorus had explained to Tigranes the ſubject he was come about, the king aſked him, *And what would you, Metrodorus, adviſe me to do in this caſe?* In anſwer to which Metrodorus, either as a real friend to Tigranes, or becauſe he did not wiſh to ſee Mithridates reſtored, replied, *As Mithridates's ambaſſador I muſt preſs you to it, but as your counſellor I muſt adviſe you againſt it.* Tigranes diſcovered this to Mithridates, in expectation that no harm would come of it to Metrodorus, who however was killed immediately; and Tigranes, when it was too late, repented of what he had done, though he was not abſolutely the cauſe of his death, he having only added to the indignation Mithridates had conceived againſt him before. For the king had for a long time before been diſguſted at him, as appeared from ſeveral papers taken afterwards in his cabinet, among which there was one wherein was contained an order for the death of Metrodorus. Tigranes ordered him to be buried with great magnificence and ſolemnity, ſparing no coſt to honour the funeral of the dead, whom he had betrayed whilſt alive.

There died likewiſe in the court of Tigranes an orator called *Amphicrates*, if we may be allowed to mention him purely in reſpect to Athens, of which he was a native. It is ſaid, that, being baniſhed from his country, he retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants deſiring him to open a ſchool for rhetoric, he refuſed it, and replied with

great arrogance, *that a platter would not hold a dolphin*. From thence he betook himſelf to Cleopatra, Mithridates's daughter, and the wife of Tigranes; there he ſoon became ſuſpected; and being forbidden to hold any correſpondence with his countrymen, he ſtarved himſelf to death. Cleopatra ordered him a magnificent interment, and his ſepulchre is near a fortreſs called *Sapha*.

Lucullus, when he had eſtabliſhed wholeſome laws, and a laſting peace in Aſia, did not altogether baniſh pleaſure and mirth; but, during his reſidence at Epheſus, gratified the people with triumphal feſtivals, and combats of wreſtlers and gladiators. They, in requital, inſtituted other games, which, in honour to him, they called *Lucullian*; and they gave him beſides the ſtrongeſt proofs of real affection, which was more pleaſing to him than all the honours they could beſtow. But when Appius came to him, and told him he muſt prepare for war, he went again into Pontus, and putting himſelf at the head of his army, beſieged Sinope, or rather the Cilicians, who had ſeized it for the king, and upon the approach of Lucullus had put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword; after which as many as could made their eſcape by the favour of the night, having firſt ſet fire to the city. Lucullus being advertiſed of it, entered the place with his troops, put to death eight thouſand of the Cilicians, who had been left behind, reſtored to the natives all their effects that could be recovered, and did his utmoſt to ſave the city, to which he was particularly prompted by the following viſion. A perſon appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſaid, *Go on a litter further, Lucullus, for Autolycus is coming to confer with thee.* When he aroſe, he was at a loſs how to interpret it; but that very day he took the city; and as he was purſuing the Cilicians, who were endeavouring to eſcape by ſea, he perceived a ſtatue lying on the ſhore, which the enemy had not

not time to put on board, and which was one of the moſt celebrated performances of the ſculptor Sthenis. He was immediately told that it was the ſtatue of Autolycus, founder of Sinope *. This Autolycus was ſaid to be the ſon of Deimachus, and one of thoſe heroes who accompanied Hercules out of Theſſaly in his expedition againſt the Amazons. In his return from thence with Demoleon and Phlogius he loſt his ſhip, which ſplit on the coaſt of the Cherſoneſus at a place called *Pedalion*. He himſelf was preſerved, with his arms and companions, and arriving at Sinope drove out the Syrians who were in poſſeſſion of it. They were deſcended from Syrus the ſon of Apollo, and the nymph Sinope the daughter of Aſopus. This piece of hiſtory made Lucullus reflect on a paſſage in Sylla's memoirs, wherein he ſays, *that nothing is ſo certain, nor ſo much to be depended upon, as what is revealed in dreams.*

As ſoon as it was told him that Mithridates and Tigranes were juſt ready to tranſport their forces into Lycaonia and Cilicia, that they might be beforehand with him, and make themſelves maſters of Aſia, he much wondered at the conduct of the Armenian, who having for a long time before determined within himſelf to declare againſt the Romans, had not joined with Mithridates at a time when his forces were entire, and his ſtrength formidable; but firſt ſuffered him to be routed, and his army deſtroyed, and then aſſociated himſelf

* Strabo makes mention of this Autolycus in his twelfth book, where he ſays that Lucullus having made himſelf maſter of Sinope, was very careful in preſerving all the ornaments of that city, and that he only took the ſphere of Billarus, and Autolycus's ſtatue, which was the performance of Sthenis; that the inhabitants of Sinope held Autolycus for their founder, that they paid him divine honours, and that he had an oracle in that place. It appears, adds he, that he was one of Jaſon's companions, and that in his return he poſſeſſed himſelf of Sinope,

with a prince, whom it was impoſſible for him to raiſe, and in whoſe ruin he muſt therefore ſhare.

During theſe tranſactions, Machares the ſon of Mithridates, who governed in the Boſphorus, ſent Lucullus a crown valued at a thouſand pieces of gold, and deſired he might be declared a friend and ally of the Romans. From hence concluding that the firſt war was at an end, he left Sornatius his deputy, with ſix thouſand ſoldiers, to take care of the province; and himſelf with twelve thouſand foot, and ſomewhat leſs than three thouſand horſe, advanced to the ſecond war. This was condemned as a very raſh and inconſiderate undertaking, and directly contrary to the maxims of ſound judgment and wiſdom, to march with ſo ſmall a force againſt ſo many warlike nations, and ſo many myriads of cavalry, in a country of ſuch vaſt extent, abounding with deep and large rivers, and with high mountains eternally covered with ſnow; ſo that the ſoldiers, who at the beſt were not very orderly, followed with great reluctance and diſcontent. At the ſame time the tribunes of the people inveighed bitterly againſt him at Rome, complaining that he added one war to another, not ſo much for the intereſt of the ſtate, as to keep his commiſſion ſubſiſting, and to enrich himſelf by the public danger. Theſe complaints at laſt produced the effect intended, which was the revocation of Lucullus.

In the mean time he continued his expedition, and by long uninterrupted marches ſoon reached the banks of the Euphrates, which he found extremely ſwoln by the winter rains and ſnow, which had rendered the ſtream rapid and impetuous. This made him very uneaſy; for he knew it would require much time to procure boats, and provide a bridge for the paſſage of his forces. But towards the evening the flood began to abate, and ſunk ſo conſiderably that night, that the next morning he found the river not only confined within its own ordinary

ordinary channel, but more ſhallow than uſual; inſomuch that the people of the country, when they diſcovered ſeveral heads of land like little iſlands riſing above the water, which ſeemed to ſtagnate round them, conſidered Lucullus as ſome deity, who had wrought a miracle, and forced the river to ſubmit, and yield him a ſafe expeditious paſſage.

He embraced the opportunity without delay, and immediately paſſing over his forces, was welcomed on the other ſide with a very favourable preſage. On that ſide of the Euphrates ſome heifers are fed which are conſecrated to the Perſian Diana, for whom the Barbarians in thoſe parts have a ſingular veneration. Theſe heifers are never uſed but in their ſacrifices to the goddeſs; at other times they range at full liberty in the paſtures, bearing the mark of the goddeſs imprinted on them, which is *a lighted flambeau*. They are uſed to ſo much liberty, that when there is occaſion for them, they are not taken without much difficulty.

When the army had paſſed the Euphrates, one of theſe heifers walked up to a rock conſecrated to Diana, where ſhe ſtopt, and ſinking her head like thoſe which are faſtened with cords, preſented herſelf to Lucullus to be ſacrificed. At the ſame time he ſacrificed a bull to the Euphrates in gratitude for his ſafe paſſage. That day he encamped on the banks of that river; on the next, and thoſe that followed, he continued his march through the province of Sophene, uſing no manner of violence to thoſe who came in to him, and readily received his army. In his march his ſoldiers were for ſtorming a caſtle which lay in their way, and where it was ſaid there was great ſtore of riches; but Lucullus prevented it, ſaying, *There is the caſtle we muſt ſtorm*, pointing to Mount Taurus, which was at ſome diſtance; *as for the riches which are here, they will belong to the conqueror*. Wherefore haſtening his

his march, he paſſed the Tigris, and entered into Armenia.

The firſt who brought Tigranes the news of the approach of Lucullus was ill rewarded for his intelligence, for he immediately ordered him to be beheaded. Others were ſo far intimidated by this example, that no one after that was hardy enough to give him any information; ſo that the enemy were ſuffered to waſte and burn the country all round, whilſt he remained ignorant of what had paſſed, liſtening to his flattering courtiers, who aſſerted that Lucullus muſt be a man of courage and reſolution indeed, if he ſo much as waited his coming even at Epheſus, and did not rather run away, and quit Aſia on a ſudden, the moment he ſhould be told that an army conſiſting of ſo many myriads of combatants was upon the march againſt him. So true it is, that as all conſtitutions cannot bear a load of wine, ſo neither are all tempers capable of ſupporting a glut of felicity without being intoxicated. The firſt of all his friends who had the courage to tell him the truth, was Mithrobarzanes. But neither was he well rewarded for the liberty he took; for he was inſtantly detached with three thouſand horſe and a numerous body of foot, with a peremptory command to bring Lucullus alive to the king, and to put every man elſe to the ſword.

Lucullus had not yet formed his army: part of his men were then pitching their camp; and the reſt were marching to join them. When his ſcouts had given him notice that the Barbarians were approaching, he was afraid leſt he ſhould be attacked before all his men were come up, and his army in a condition to receive them. This made him think it more adviſeable to continue to fortify his camp, and in the mean time to ſend Sextilius his lieutenant with ſixteen hundred horſe, and a ſomewhat greater number of foot, as well light as heavy-armed,

ed, with orders to halt as ſoon as he was got within ſome diſtance of the enemy, and wait till he had received advice that the camp was completed. Sextilius deſigned to have obeyed this order; but as Mithrobarzanes came furiouſly upon him, he could not avoid an engagement. Mithrobarzanes himſelf was ſlain fighting with much courage and reſolution, and all his men, except a few, were cut to pieces in their flight.

Immediately upon this Tigranes quitted his capital Tigranocerta, which he had built himſelf, and retired to Mount Taurus, where he ſummoned his forces from all quarters to come and join him. But Lucullus giving him no time to rendezvous, ſent out Murena on one ſide, to cut off thoſe who were marching to Tigranes, and Sextilius on the other, to diſperſe a great company of Arabians then going to the king. Sextilius fell upon the Arabians as they were forming their camp, and deſtroyed moſt of them; at the ſame time Murena following Tigranes, and watching his opportunity, fell upon him as he was paſſing through a valley which was narrow and incommodious, eſpecially for a numerous army. Tigranes fled immediately, leaving all his baggage behind him. Great numbers of the Armenians were killed in the action, and more taken priſoners. After this ſucceſs Lucullus went to Tigranocerta, and encamping round the walls began to beſiege it. There were many Greeks in the place, who had been removed thither out of Cilicia, and a great many barbarians in the ſame circumſtances with the Greeks, Adiabenians, Aſſyrians, Gordyenians, and Cappadocians, whoſe towns had been deſtroyed by Tigranes, who tranſported them thither, and compelled them to ſettle in his new city. Beſide this, it was of itſelf exceedingly rich and magnificent; for all the inhabitants, as well the commons as nobility, in compliment to the king, contributed all they could to enrich and adorn

orn it. This made Lucullus more vigorously assault it, being persuaded that Tigranes would by no means suffer it to be taken, but, contrary to his first intention, would come down in great fury, and offer him battle, in order to make him raise the siege. He was not out in his conjecture, though Mithridates earnestly dissuaded Tigranes from it, and pressed him by letters and messages not to hazard an engagement, but only with his horse to cut off Lucullus's convoys. And Taxiles the ambassador of Mithridates, who continued with him in his camp, conjured him to keep as far off as he could from the arms of the Romans, and not engage, if he could help it, with an enemy that was invincible.

At first he gave ear to this advice. But when the Armenians and Gordyenians had joined him, when the kings of the Medes and Adiabenians were come up with all their forces, when a strong body of Arabians were arrived from the banks of the Babylonian sea, and a multitude of Albanians from the Caspian, to whom were joined their neighbours the Iberians; when from the banks of the Araxes came pouring in a great number of those Barbarians who are free and independent, having no king to govern them; when all these were come to his assistance, some out of love to his person, and others for hire; then nothing was to be heard but empty menaces, and insolent bravadoes; and this not only in their feasts and banquets, but even in their councils. Taxiles was in danger of his life, for having presumed to give his opinion contrary to those who were for fighting, and Mithridates himself was charged with opposing it out of envy to his son-in-law, whom he wanted to deprive of the honour of so glorious an enterprise. Tigranes therefore was resolved not to wait for his arrival, for fear he should share in the glory of the day, but immediately marched at the head of his forces, and said, as it is reported, to a friend near him, *that*

one

one thing troubled him, which was, that he had to do with Lucullus only, and not with all the Roman generals together. It muſt be confeſſed that this boaſt was not very extravagant and unreaſonable, if we conſider by how many kings and nations he was followed, and of how many numerous battalions of foot, and how many myriads of horſe his army was compoſed. For he had twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, and fifty-five thouſand horſe, of whom ſeventeen thouſand were completely armed from head to foot, as Lucullus himſelf wrote to the ſenate; he had a hundred and fifty thouſand foot formed into companies and battalions, and thirty-five thouſand labourers to open the roads, build bridges, cleanſe rivers, hew wood, and perform other ſervices neceſſary in armies. Theſe marching in a body behind the reſt, made the army appear more numerous and formidable.

When he had marched over Mount Taurus, and his forces appeared on the plain, from whence he could diſcover the Roman army employed in the ſiege of Tigranocerta, thoſe within the place, upon the ſight of ſuch a ſtupendous body marching to their relief, ſaluted them with loud ſhouts and acclamations, and threatening the Romans from the walls, pointed to the Armenians.

Lucullus called a council of war, where ſome were for raiſing the ſiege, and marching againſt Tigranes; others were of a contrary opinion. Lucullus ſaid that neither party judged rightly, but that both together gave good advice. Accordingly he divided his army, leaving Murena with ſix thouſand foot before the place, whilſt he with the reſt of the infantry, conſiſting of twenty-four cohorts, which all together did not amount to more than ten thouſand men, with all his cavalry, and about a thouſand ſlingers and archers, marched againſt Tigranes, and encamped in a large plain, with a river before him.

Tigranes

Tigranes deſpiſed this handful of men, and his flatterers made themſelves very merry upon the ſubject. Some laughed at them, and others in a jeſting manner caſt lots for the ſpoil; and there was not one of all Tigranes's generals, or of the kings that followed him, but what came to him, deſiring that he only might have the charge of the engagement, whilſt the king ſat ſtill as a ſpectator of the combat. Tigranes himſelf had a mind to ſhow his wit on the occaſion, and uttered that celebrated ſaying, *If they come as ambaſſadors, they are too many; if as ſoldiers, too few.* Thus the firſt day was ſpent in jeſt and raillery.

The next morning as ſoon as it was light, Lucullus drew his army out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians ſtood on the other ſide of the river to the eaſt. The courſe of the river was ſuch, that all on a ſudden it turned towards the weſt at a place where it was fordable. Thither Lucullus marched with ſo much haſte, that Tigranes thought he was flying; and calling Taxiles to him, he ſaid in deriſion, *Doſt thou ſee, Taxiles, thoſe invincible Romans? ſee how they fly.* Taxiles replied, *I wiſh, Sir, that your good fortune may this day work ſome miracle in your favour. But it is not cuſtomary for travellers to put on their beſt cloaths upon a journey, nor for ſoldiers to ſhow their poliſhed ſhields, and cover their heads with their naked helmets drawn out of their leathern caſes, when they only intend to march; this looks more like men prepared to fight, and advancing againſt the enemy.*

Whilſt Taxiles was ſpeaking, the eagle of the firſt legion appeared on a ſudden wheeling to the right, and all the cohorts in their order were preparing to paſs the river. Upon which Tigranes, recovering as it were out of a fit of drunkenneſs, cried out twice or thrice, *Are thoſe men coming to us?* and then drew up in haſte, not without a great deal of diſorder and confuſion. He had the command of the main body himſelf. The left wing

was

was given in charge to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes, in the front of which were placed moſt of the armed cavalry.

As Lucullus was preparing to paſs the river, ſome of his officers adviſed him to lie ſtill that day, which was one of the unfortunate days, called *black* by the Romans, for on that very day the army under Cæpio was defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned them this memorable anſwer, *I will make this a happy day to the Romans.* It happened to be the ſixth of October. When he had ſaid this, and animated his men, he paſſed the river, and marched at the head of them againſt the enemy. He was armed in a coat of mail with ſhining ſcales of a wonderful brightneſs, over which he wore a fringed mantle. He drew his ſword, and brandiſhed it in the air, to ſignify to his troops that their buſineſs was to cloſe at firſt with an enemy who had been accuſtomed to fight only at a diſtance, and by marching ſpeedily up to them to render their archers unſerviceable for want of ſpace. When he perceived that the armed cavalry, in which the enemy had placed their greateſt confidence, were drawn up under a hill, on the top of which was a broad even plain, and that the aſcent, which extended about four furlongs in length, was not rough nor ſteep, he commanded his Thracian and Galatian horſe to take them in flank, and beat down the lances with their ſwords. For the only ſervice of thoſe armed horſemen conſiſts in their lance, without the uſe of which they can neither annoy the enemy or defend themſelves, by reaſon of the weight and ſtiffneſs of their armour, in which they are in a manner immured.

Whilſt the cavalry were marching to execute theſe orders, he placed himſelf at the head of two cohorts, and made to the top of the mountain. They followed him with great intrepidity, being animated

nimated by the example of their general, when they ſaw him in arms marching in the front, and labouring on foot to climb the aſcent. As ſoon as he had reached the ſummit, he ſtood on a conſpicuous place, and cried out with a loud voice, *The victory is ours, my fellow-ſoldiers, the victory is ours!* at the ſame time he fell with thoſe two cohorts upon the armed horſe of the enemy, commanding his men to lay by their javelins to attack them ſword in hand, and aim at their ſhins and thighs, which were the only parts unguarded. This caution proved uſeleſs, for the enemy would not ſtand the charge, but fled ſhamefully with great noiſe and clamour, without ſtriking a ſtroke; and falling with their heavy unwieldy horſes upon the infantry, broke their ranks before the fight began. Thus that innumerable multitude of Barbarians was overthrown, before any wound was given, or any blood ſpilt. The ſlaughter did not begin till they fled, or rather endeavoured to fly; for they were obſtructed by their own battalions, whoſe ranks were ſo cloſe and deep, that they could not eaſily open them. Tigranes fled one of the firſt, with a few of his attendants; and obſerving his ſon in the ſame diſtreſs, he took the crown from his head, and with tears in his eyes preſented it to him, conjuring him to direct his flight ſome other way, if any other remained for his eſcape.

The young prince would not venture to wear the crown, but committed it to the care of one of his moſt truſty ſervants, who happened to be taken ſoon after, and conducted to Lucullus; ſo that the royal crown of Tigranes was alſo amongſt the priſoners. It is reported that above a hundred thouſand foot were loſt, and that few of the horſe eſcaped. Of the Romans, a hundred were wounded, and five killed. Antiochus the philoſopher making mention of this fight, in his treatiſe of the gods, ſays,

ſays, that the ſun never ſaw the like. Strabo *, another philoſopher, in his hiſtorical collections, ſays, that the Romans could not but bluſh and deride themſelves, for putting on armour againſt ſuch pitiful ſlaves. Livy alſo ſays, that the Romans never engaged an enemy with ſo unequal force; for the victors did not make a twentieth part of the vanquiſhed.

The moſt judicious and experienced of the Roman commanders, have chiefly commended Lucullus for having conquered two of the moſt potent and formidable of all the kings, by two very different methods, by expedition, and delay. For he deſtroyed the flouriſhing power of Mithridates by ſpinning out the time, and that of Tigranes by attacking him ſuddenly and vigorouſly. So that among all the generals that have been ever known, there are few who could render their delay ſo active and efficacious, and their ſpeed and activity ſo ſecure. It was for this reaſon that Mithridates was not in haſte to come up, imagining Lucullus would, as he had done before, uſe caution and delay; he therefore marched but ſlowly towards Tigranes: but as he met ſome Armenians in the way, running in great fear and conſternation, he ſuſpected the worſt; and when greater numbers of naked and wounded men aſſured him of the defeat, he went in ſearch of Tigranes. At laſt he found him entirely abandoned, and in a very deplorable condition; but inſtead of inſulting over him as he had been inſulted by him in his calamities, he alighted from his horſe, condoled with him upon their common misfortunes, cauſed his own guard to attend him, did all he could to revive his ſpirits, and encourage him with hopes of better times. They

* This is the ſame with Strabo the geographer. He was a Stoic, and wrote ſeveral hiſtorical commentaries uſeful both in morals and politics; but they are loſt.

then gave out the neceſſary orders for raiſing freſh troops, and forming another army.

In the mean time there aroſe a terrible ſedition in Tigranocerta, where the Greeks fell out with the Barbarians, and were for ſurrendering to Lucullus. In the heat of this ſedition Lucullus arrived, laid hold of the opportunity, and took the city by ſtorm. He ſeized to himſelf the royal treaſury, and abandoned every thing elſe to the pillage of the ſoldiers, who among other riches found in the city eight thouſand talents of ſilver coin; beſides which Lucullus gave every ſoldier eight hundred drachmas out of the ſpoils he had taken. When he underſtood that many players were taken in the city, who had been invited by Tigranes from all parts for opening the theatre which he had lately built, he made uſe of them for celebrating his triumphal games and ſpectacles. He ſent the Greeks home, allowing them money for their journey: he did the ſame to as many of the Barbarians as had been forced by Tigranes to quit their own habitations and ſettle in Tigranocerta; ſo that, in conſequence of the deſtruction of this one city, many were repaired by the reſtitution of their former inhabitants; and Lucullus was honoured and beloved, not only as their benefactor but founder. In every thing elſe he met with that ſucceſs, which was the juſt reward of his virtue; he being more deſirous to be praiſed for his juſtice and humanity, than for his martial exploits; for the ſoldiers partake in theſe, and the largeſt ſhare is claimed by fortune: whereas the other merit is perſonal, and is a certain demonſtration of a great and generous ſpirit; and by this alone Lucullus, without the help of arms, then gained the hearts of the Barbarians. Accordingly the kings of the Arabians came and ſubmitted to him, making him maſter of their perſons, and fortunes. The whole nation of the Sophenians followed their example; and he had gained ſo much

much upon the Gordyenians, that they offered to quit their habitations, and follow him with their wives and children. For Zarbienus the king of that nation being no longer able to ſupport Tigranes's tyranny, did, as we have before mentioned, enter ſecretly into a treaty of alliance by the negotiation of Appius Clodius; which being diſcovered by the tyrant, he put him, together with his wife and children, to death, before the Romans had entered Armenia. Lucullus was not unmindful of this ally, but immediately upon his arrival in that country cauſed a magnificent funeral to be ſolemnized in honour of him, adorned the pile with gold and ſilver tiſſue, and other rich ſpoils belonging to Tigranes, ſet fire to it with his own hands, poured upon it the uſual libations, in conjunction with the friends and relations of the deceaſed, calling him his friend and the ally of the Romans. When all this was done, he ordered a great ſum of money to be expended in a monument erected to his memory; for they found immenſe wealth in the palaces belonging to Zarbienus, and no leſs than three millions of medimni of corn in his granaries, which proved of great ſervice to the troops; inſomuch that Lucullus was highly commended for making the war furniſh its own expenſes, without any demands upon the public treaſury.

During theſe tranſactions an embaſſy arrived from the King of Parthia, who deſired to enter into friendſhip and alliance with the Romans. Lucullus embraced the propoſition, and ſent ambaſſadors on his part to the Parthian court, where when they were arrived they ſoon diſcovered that the king was undetermined how to act, and that whilſt he was treating with the Romans, he was underhand offering to aſſiſt Tigranes, upon condition he might have Meſopotamia delivered up to him. As ſoon as Lucullus was informed of this double dealing, he was reſolved to give over the purſuit of Mithri-

dates and Tigranes, conſidering them as enemies whoſe ſtrength was entirely ruined, and to try the power of Parthia, by invading that kingdom; for he thought it would redound much to his honour to ſubdue ſucceſſively, and in one ſingle expedition, three of the eaſtern monarchs, and like a generous wreſtler without quitting the ring to foil three ſuch potent adverſaries, and with ſword in hand always victorious, always invincible, to conquer the three greateſt kingdoms in the world.

He therefore ſent his orders to Sornatius, and the other officers in Pontus, to join him with their forces, in his expedition againſt the Parthians; but thoſe officers who had before experienced the ſtubborn and mutinous temper of the ſoldiers on other occaſions, now more plainly diſcovered their unruline ſs and diſobedience. For neither could they by entreaties or menaces, by perſuaſion or force, prevail upon them to march. On the contrary, they all loudly proteſted that they would ſtay no longer even there, but abandoning Pontus, would return home.

When this account was brought to Lucullus, it ſerved only to infect his own ſoldiers with the ſame diſtemper. Wealth and plenty had made them weary of the war, and diſpoſed them altogether to ſloth and idleneſs. Upon hearing of the inſolent behaviour of thoſe in Pontus they commended them for their reſolution, and propoſed it as a pattern for their imitation, inſiſting that they had ſerved long enough, and had a right to be diſcharged.

Theſe, and words of a ſtill worſe tendency being reported to Lucullus, he gave over all thoughts of invading Parthia, and marched againſt Tigranes. It was now the midſt of ſummer, ſo that he was aſtoniſhed and concerned when from the top of Mount Taurus he beheld all the corn green in the fields before him: ſo backward are the ſeaſons, by reaſon

reaſon of the exceſſive cold in thoſe parts *. However he marched down into the valleys, and after having defeated the Armenians, who diſputed his paſſage, in two or three encounters, he foraged up and down the country, intercepted a convoy of proviſions deſigned for Tigranes, and ſo reduced the enemy to that ſcarcity of which he had himſelf been apprehenſive.

In the mean time he did all he could to draw them to a battle; ſometimes ſhutting them up in their camp by drawing intrenchments round it, with a deſign to ſtarve them; at other times he endeavoured to provoke them, by burning and deſtroying their country before their face; but all to no purpoſe; they had been ſo often worſted, that they durſt not venture another engagement with the Romans. When Lucullus perceived this, he marched towards Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom, wherein Tigranes had left his wife and young children; which made him conceive that Tigranes would ſooner hazard a battle than tamely ſuffer that place to be loſt.

We are told that Hannibal the Carthaginian retired to Artaxes king of Armenia, after Antiochus had been defeated by the Romans, and gave him ſeveral neceſſary and uſeful inſtructions. Among others, obſerving that the country was pleaſant and fruitful, but that it lay neglected and uncultivated, he drew a plan of a city, and bringing Artaxes thither ſhowed it him, and adviſed him to build a city there according to that plan. The king, highly pleaſed with it, immediately ſet about it, and deſired Hannibal to direct and ſuperintend the workmen. In a ſhort time a ſtately city was erected, call-

* What Plutarch tells us here of the backward ſeaſons in the upper Armenia is confirmed by our modern travellers, who aſſure us that it is exceedingly cold in the month of June, and that the ground is then covered with ſnow, which does not melt till towards the end of Auguſt.

ed

ed after the king's name, and made the metropolis of Armenia.

Lucullus being on his march in order to beſiege it, Tigranes was ſolicitous to prevent him, and drawing all his forces together, in four days time came within ſight of the Romans, from whom he was ſeparated only by the river Arſanias, which Lucullus muſt neceſſarily paſs in his march to Artaxata. After Lucullus had offered a ſacrifice of thankſgiving to the gods, as if he was ſure of the victory, he paſſed the river in battle-array, having twelve cohorts in front, while the reſt were ſo diſpoſed as to hinder them from being incloſed by the enemy. For they beheld a numerous and ſelect body of cavalry drawn up againſt them, having in their front the Mardian archers on horſeback, and the Iberian ſpearmen, in whom of all the foreigners Tigranes placed the greateſt confidence. Notwithſtanding which they did nothing conſiderable. For though they ſkirmiſhed a little at firſt with the Roman horſe, they could not ſtand the legions, but being broken and flying to the right and left, were purſued by the Roman cavalry. When Tigranes beheld this, he commanded his horſe to advance; and Lucullus obſerving their numbers, and their order, began to be doubtful of the event. Wherefore he recalled his horſe from the purſuit, and inſtantly advanced againſt the Satrapenians *, who with the choiceſt of their troops were coming to attack him. But before they could come up nigh enough to begin the charge, and fight hand to hand, they were ſo intimidated, that they all turned back and fled. Of three kings that were then preſent in the battle, Mithridates ſeems to have fled in the moſt ſhameful manner, being unable to endure even the ſhouts of the Romans. The purſuit continued the

* It is not known who are meant by the Satrapenians. Some conjecture that this word ſignifies a body of men conſiſting of, or commanded by the Satrapæ or nobles.

whole

whole night, till the Romans glutted with ſlaughter, tired with taking priſoners, and loaded with money and other rich booty, gave over the chace. Livy ſays that greater numbers fell in the firſt battle, but that more perſons of note were killed and taken in the ſecond.

Lucullus being fluſhed by this victory, determined to march into the upper provinces, and there complete his conqueſts over the Barbarians. But though the autumnal equinox was not yet paſſed, all on a ſudden, and contrary to expectation, the weather grew very tempeſtuous and ſevere; there fell great quantities of ſnow, and even in the cleareſt days the country was covered with hoar froſt and ice, ſo that the horſes could not drink by reaſon of the exceſſive coldneſs of the water, nor paſs rivers without great hazard, becauſe the ice breaking under their feet, cut their ſinews, and lamed them. The country being exceedingly woody, and abounding with foreſts, where the paths were very narrow, the ſoldiers could not march in the daytime without being wet with the ſnow which fell from the trees; and at night they were forced to encamp in wet and miry places. So that when they had followed Lucullus a few days after the battle, they began to mutiny.

At firſt they had recourſe to entreaties, and ſent their officers to lay their complaints before the general; but at laſt they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and made a noiſe all night long in their tents, which is the certain token of an army ripe for ſedition. Lucullus earneſtly preſſed and entreated them to arm themſelves with courage and patience, till they had taken the Armenian Carthage, and deſtroyed the work of their greateſt enemy, meaning Hannibal. But finding them inflexible, he led them back, and having marched another way, over Mount Taurus, he deſcended into the province of Mygdonia, a fertile temperate country, where-

in

in was a large populous city, called *Niſibis* by the Barbarians, and by the Greeks *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* *. Guras the brother of Tigranes had the title of governour; but Callimachus actually commanded, by reaſon of his great experience in war, and his capacity as an engineer: it was he who before gave Lucullus ſo much trouble during the ſiege of Amiſus.

Lucullus having encamped before the walls, tried every method of attack, and in a ſhort time he took the town by ſtorm. He treated Guras, who came and ſurrendered himſelf to him, with great humanity; but as to Callimachus, he would not ſo much as hear him, though he offered to make a diſcovery of immenſe treaſures that lay concealed, but commanded him to be kept in chains, in order to be puniſhed as he deſerved for ſetting fire to the city of Amiſus, and thereby leſſening his glory by putting it out of his power to ſhow his kindneſs and generoſity to the Greeks.

Hitherto fortune ſeems to have taken pleaſure in following Lucullus, and fighting for him. But now the tide turned all on a ſudden; from this time he met with continual oppoſition, and every thing he executed was attended with infinite trouble and difficulty. It muſt be allowed, that he always exerted himſelf with the virtue, courage, and patience of a brave commander; but his actions had no longer that grace and luſtre by which they formerly had been diſtinguiſhed. Even the glory he had acquired had like to have been loſt, through the misfortunes that befel him, and the fruitleſs contentions in which he was engaged. And theſe are in a great meaſure to be charged upon himſelf. For, in the firſt place, he would never ſhow any in-

* The Grecians called it *Antioch* of *Mygdonia*, from the delightfulneſs of the ſoil, comparing it with Antioch of Syria, famous for its pleaſant ſituation.

dulgence

dulgence to the ſoldiers, maintaining, that all favours conferred by the general on thoſe under his command tend to diſgrace and ruin his authority. But what was ſtill worſe, he could not live well with thoſe who were his equals in birth and dignity, but looked on them with an eye of contempt, as if unworthy to ſtand in competition with him. Theſe are the defects which are ſaid to have ſullied all the perfections of his body, as well as mind; for he was handſome and well-ſhaped in his perſon, very eloquent, and of a conſummate prudence, not only in the adminiſtration of civil affairs, but in thoſe relating to war. Salluſt ſays, the ſoldiers were ill affected to him from the beginning, becauſe he forced them to keep the field two winters together, one at Cyzicus, and the other at Amiſus. The following winters were no leſs diſagreeable to them, as they ſpent them either in actual war, or in their tents; for Lucullus, during the whole time of his expeditions, would not ſuffer his troops to quarter in any city of the Greeks that was an ally.

This ill diſpoſition in the army was aggravated by the orators in the city, who invidiouſly accuſed him of prolonging the war purely to gratify his avarice and ambition; for he held under his government almoſt all Cicilia, Aſia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the reſt of the provinces as far as the river Phaſis; beſides which he had pillaged the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been ſent to plunder the kings, and not ſubdue them. For theſe, we are told, were the very words of one of the magiſtrates called *Lucius Quintius*, at whoſe ſolicitation the people decreed that another ſhould be ſent to ſucceed Lucullus in the province, and that the greateſt part of his army ſhould be diſbanded.

To all theſe misfortunes another was added ſtill more fatal to Lucullus, the cauſe of which was Publius

Publius Clodius, a man of the greateſt inſolence and preſumption. He was brother to Lucullus's wife, a woman of ſuch notorious incontinence that ſhe was ſtrongly ſuſpected of inceſt with her own brother. Clodius was then in the army, but not in that rank and authority he thought he deſerved. He would fain have been one of the firſt, but his character was ſuch that others were preferred before him. This indignity ſo provoked him, that he tampered with thoſe ſoldiers in the army that had ſerved under Fimbria, and exaſperated them againſt Lucullus, ingratiating himſelf with them by fair words, and flattering ſpeeches, to which they liſtened very greedily, having of old been accuſtomed to ſuch treatment. Theſe were the men, who at Fimbria's inſtigation murdered the conſul Flaccus, and choſe him for their general in his room. The ſame diſpoſitions made them fond of Clodius, whom they called *the ſoldiers friend*, becauſe he ſeemed to compaſſionate their condition, and ſympathiſe with them in their miſeries. *Will there be no end*, ſaid he, *of theſe wars, and painful expeditions? Muſt their lives be ſpent in fighting with all nations, and wandering over the univerſe, without reaping any other fruit of all their labours, than to be employed in convoying the carriages and camels of Lucullus, laden with golden goblets ſet with precious ſtones? Pompey's ſoldiers are become citizens, are returned long ſince to their wives and children, in poſſeſſion of comfortable ſettlements, which they have received not as a reward for having, like theſe men, hunted Mithridates and Tigranes through uninhabited deſerts, or for having razed and deſtroyed the royal towns and palaces of Aſia, but for having reduced exiles in Spain, and fugitives in Italy. But if it be our fate to be in war eternally, ought we not rather to reſerve the miſerable remains of our bodies, and our ſouls, for ſuch a general, who thinks the wealth of his army his greateſt glory?*

Theſe murmurs and complaints againſt Lucullus corrupted

corrupted and debauched his army to ſuch a degree, that they refuſed to follow him againſt Tigranes, and even againſt Mithridates, who had quitted Armenia, and flung himſelf into Pontus, where he had already recovered a part of his country. Under a pretence that the winter-ſeaſon was advanced, they refuſed to march, and ſat idle in Gordyene, expecting every minute that Pompey, or ſome other general, would arrive to ſucceed Lucullus. But when news came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and that he was upon full march againſt Sornatius and Triarius, then out of ſhame they ſubmitted to follow Lucullus. Triarius being informed that Lucullus was approaching, was ambitious to engage before he could arrive to deprive him of the glory of the victory; but he was almoſt totally defeated. It is ſaid there fell above ſeven thouſand of the Romans, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and four and twenty tribunes, and that the camp itſelf was taken. Lucullus came up ſoon after, and privately conveyed away Triarius, the ſoldiers being eager to diſcharge their reſentment upon him.

Mithridates induſtriouſly avoided coming to an engagement with Lucullus till the arrival of Tigranes, who was then on his march with a powerful army; but Lucullus, in order to prevent their joining, thought it beſt to meet Tigranes, and fight him. In his march the mutinous Fimbrians deſerted their colours, declaring that they were diſbanded by a decree of the ſenate, and that the command of the army did not belong to Lucullus, who was no longer governour of the provinces. There was nothing however far beneath the dignity of Lucullus, which he was not forced to ſubmit to on this occaſion. He entreated them, one by one, from tent to tent, going up and down dejected and ſorrowful, and ſometimes even taking them by the hand. But they rejected all his careſſes; and flinging

ing their empty purſes at his feet, they bid him *go and fight the enemy alone, ſince he alone was to be the gainer.* At length, by the entreaty of the other ſoldiers, the Fimbrians were prevailed upon, and conſented to tarry that ſummer under him, upon condition that if during that time no enemy offered to encounter them, they might be diſcharged. Lucullus was forced to comply with this, or elſe to abandon the province to the Barbarians. He kept them indeed with him, but he had no power over them; nor did he lead them out to battle, being contented to have them ſtay with him, though he then ſaw Cappadocia laid waſte by Tigranes, and Mithridates reſuming his former pride, whom not long before he had reported to the ſenate to be wholly ſubdued. Upon this advice the ſenate ſent their deputies into Pontus, to regulate affairs there, ſuppoſing that it was entirely in the poſſeſſion of the Romans. But theſe deputies at their arrival found that Lucullus was not even maſter of himſelf, but that the ſoldiers treated him with the utmoſt deriſion and contempt. Their inſolence was arrived to ſuch a pitch, that towards the end of the ſummer they put on their armour, drew their ſwords, defied their enemies, who were then out of reach, and with loud ſhouts and mock ſkirmiſhes marched out of the camp, declaring that the time they had promiſed to remain with Lucullus was expired.

Pompey alſo wrote to others in the army, requiring them to join him; for he had been declared general in the war againſt Tigranes and Mithridates by the artful practices of the tribunes, and the favour of the people. At the ſame time it appeared to the ſenate and nobility, that they were doing Lucullus a manifeſt injuſtice; for they were not ſending him ſucceſſors to finiſh the war, but to rob him of his triumph, and did not ſo much force him to give up the command of the army to others,

as

as to reſign to them the rewards he had ſo juſtly merited.

This injuſtice ſtill appeared more flagrant to thoſe who were upon the ſpot; for Lucullus remained no longer maſter of rewards or puniſhments. Pompey would not ſuffer any applications to be made to him, nor any notice to be taken of the orders and regulations he made in conjunction with the ten deputies that had been ſent to him by the ſenate. He prohibited it by public edicts, and was ſure to be obeyed, being at the head of ſo formidable an army.

However, their friends on both ſides endeavoured to bring them to a meeting, and they accordingly had an interview at an obſcure village in Galatia. This converſation began with great civility on both ſides, and they congratulated each other upon the victories they had obtained. Lucullus was firſt in years, but Pompey in dignity, for he had commanded oftener, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Both had their rods adorned with laurel carried before them, in token of their victories. But Pompey having in his march paſſed through ſeveral dry and deſert countries, the laurels round his rods were withered; which when Lucullus's lictors obſerved, they kindly gave them ſome of theirs which were freſh and green. This the friends of Pompey looked upon as a favourable omen; and indeed the glorious actions of Lucullus gave a great luſtre to this expedition of Pompey. Their converſation did not produce any good effect; they could agree upon nothing; ſo that, inſtead of being better friends, they parted more diſſatisfied than ever.

Pompey repealed all the edicts of Lucullus, and took his army from him, leaving him no more than ſixteen hundred men to attend his triumph, and even they followed him with an unwilling mind; ſo unſucceſsful was Lucullus, either from a natural

defect or from ill fortune, in that which is moſt eſſential to a general, the rendering himſelf amiable to the ſoldiers. Had this been added to his other excellent qualities, his courage, vigilance, wiſdom, and juſtice, inſtead of the Euphrates, the Hyrcanian ſea, or rather the utmoſt limits of the earth, had been the boundaries of the Roman empire. For all other nations had been already ſubdued by Tigranes; and the power of the Parthians was neither ſo great in Lucullus's time, as it proved afterwards in that of Craſſus, nor ſo well united, but, on the contrary, ſo weakened by diſſenſions at home, and by the wars with their neighbours, that they were not able to make head againſt the Armenians, who daily inſulted them. For this reaſon Lucullus ſeems to me to have done more harm to his country by others, than good to it by himſelf. For the trophies planted by him in Armenia ſo near the Parthians, the conqueſt of Tigranocerta and Niſibis, the immenſe riches of theſe two famous cities, which were conveyed to Rome, and the crown of Tigranes, expoſed as a captive in the triumph, ſo ſtrongly excited Craſſus's covetouſneſs, and made him ſo deſirous of an eaſtern expedition, as if the Barbarians were to be conſidered merely as a prey ready to be ſeized by the firſt comer. But falling himſelf ſoon after by the Parthian arrows, he made it appear by his defeat, that the advantages gained by Lucullus in that war were entirely owing to his great courage and prudence, and by no means to the ignorance and cowardice of the Barbarians. But of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more in another place.

Lucullus, upon his return to Rome, found his brother Marcus accuſed by Caius Memmius for what he did when quæſtor by the command of Sylla. But he being acquitted, Memmius changed the ſcene, and animated the people againſt Lucullus himſelf, perſuading them to deny him a triumph, upon

upon a pretence that he had diverted to his own private uſe much of the treaſure that belonged to the public, and had unneceſſarily prolonged the war. By this means Lucullus was in danger of loſing his triumph; but the chief and moſt powerful men in the city mixing themſelves among the tribes, with great labour and many entreaties at laſt prevailed on the people to grant it.

This triumph was not ſo aſtoniſhing from the length of the proceſſion as ſome others had been, nor was it crouded with ſuch a vaſt train of ſpoils. There was a great quantity of all ſorts of armour, and a number of warlike machines, placed in the Flaminian Circus, which afforded a very agreeable ſpectacle. Some horſe completely armed marched in the proceſſion, and ten chariots armed with ſithes. Theſe were followed by ſixty of the king's friends and officers; and after them were drawn a hundred and ten galleys with brazen beaks. Then followed a golden ſtatue of Mithridates ſix foot high, with a ſhield ſet with precious ſtones. Next appeared twenty carriages covered with ſilver veſſels, and two and thirty others covered in like manner with veſſels of gold, armour of the ſame metal, and golden coin. Theſe carriages were borne by men. After theſe came eight mules loaden with beds of gold, and fifty ſix with ſilver bullion. Then followed a hundred and ſeven more with all the ſilver coin, amounting to almoſt two millions ſeven hundred thouſand drachmas. The whole was cloſed with the regiſters, wherein was contained an account of the ſums furniſhed by Lucullus to Pompey in the war againſt the pirates, of thoſe he had returned to the quæſtors to be lodged in the public treaſury, and what his donative to the army amounted to, at nine hundred and fifty drachmas to each ſoldier. The triumph concluded with a magnificent feaſt, wherein he entertained the

whole city and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages.

Having divorced Clodia for her incontinence, and other vices, he eſpouſed Servilia the ſiſter of Cato. But this marriage proved no better than the former; for of all Clodia's vices, Servilia was a ſtranger but to one, which was her inceſtuous commerce with her brothers. In all things elſe ſhe was as debauched and profligate as Clodia. He for ſome time bore with her out of reſpect to Cato, but was forced at laſt to diſmiſs her.

The ſenate had built their hopes on Lucullus as on a perſon who would be a counterpoiſe to Pompey's tyranny, and a ſupport to the nobility, as he had acquired ſo much credit and authority by his great employments and ſervices. But he deceived their expectations; for he retired from buſineſs, and refuſed to have any ſhare in the government, either becauſe he found it in a languiſhing and almoſt irrecoverable condition, or, as others ſay, becauſe he was grown weary of action, his labours not having been ſucceſsful of late, and being ſatisfied with the glory he had already acquired, he choſe to ſpend the remainder of his days in repoſe and tranquillity. Some highly commended him for avoiding by this conduct the error of Marius, who after his victories over the Cimbri, and ſo many glorious achievements, was not ſatisfied to enjoy the honour attending them, and to be held in admiration by his citizens, but, through an inſatiable thirſt of fame and power, entered the liſts in his age againſt thoſe who had youth on their ſide, and contended with them for pre-eminence, and thus was prompted to commit the moſt horrid crimes, and expoſed to ſufferings ſtill more dreadful than his crimes. *Better had it been*, ſaid they, *for Cicero, if he had withdrawn from public buſineſs after the conſpiracy of Catiline; and for Scipio if he had retired as ſoon as he had added the conqueſt of Numantia to*

that

that of Carthage. For there is a time in life when men ought to quit the political ſtage; and a ſtateſman ought not, any more than a wreſtler, to engage in a combat when he is old and infirm.

Notwithſtanding this, Craſſus and Pompey laughed at Lucullus, when they ſaw him thus abandon himſelf to pleaſure and luxury; for they thought that ſort of life was as unbecoming a man of his years, as the adminiſtration of the government, and the command of armies. Lucullus's life may be compared to the old comedy; for in the beginning we meet with ſerious actions and events, both political and military, but in the end we ſee hardly any thing but eating, drinking, revelling, and the moſt vain and trifling amuſements *. Among which I count his ſtately buildings, porticoes, and baths; but above all his pictures and ſtatues, and his extravagant fondneſs for works of this kind, which he collected at a prodigious expenſe, profuſely ſquandering away upon ſuch trifling curioſities the immenſe treaſures he had been ſo long acquiring in his more active and laborious occupations. Even in theſe days, when luxury is at ſo great a height, the gardens of Lucullus are eſteemed ſome of the moſt magnificent that the emperor has. Wherefore Tubero the Stoic †, when he beheld his buildings near Naples, where he cut through hills and ſupported them with arches, brought in the ſea for moats and fiſh-ponds round his houſe, and built pleaſure-houſes in the water, called him *Xerxes in a Roman gown* ‡. Beſides theſe, he had villas

* Plutarch ſpeaks here of thoſe ſatirical pieces, which were a diverting medley, partly tragical and partly comical.

† Q. Ælius Tubero, grandſon of Lucius Paulus. He was a great philoſopher, good lawyer, and exact hiſtorian. Cicero ſpeaks advantageouſly of him in his Brutus, and ſays that the roughneſs of his ſtyle was anſwerable to the auſterity of his life.

‡ This particularly alludes to the mountains which Lucullus bored through, and the vaults under them; for Xerxes had in like manner bored through Mount Athos to let the waters in, and make a paſſage for his ſhips. *Herod. lib. 7.*

near

near Tuſculum, adorned with capacious galleries, open on every ſide for the benefit of the proſpect, commodious apartments, and airy walks. When Pompey went thither one day to pay him a viſit, he blamed him for making his houſe ſo delightful in the ſummer, and at the ſame time uninhabitable in the winter; to which Lucullus replied, *Do you think I am leſs provident than the cranes and ſtorks, and that I do not know as well as they how to change my habitation with the ſeaſon?*

When one of the prætors, who was at great coſt and pains to exhibit ſome magnificent entertainment to the people, deſired to borrow of him ſome purple robes for the uſe of the chorus, Lucullus told him he would inquire at home, and if he had any, he would lend them to him. The next day he aſked him how many he had occaſion for, and when he ſaid *a hundred would be ſufficient*; *Very well*, ſaid he, *you may ſend for two hundred if you want them.* Upon which the poet Horace makes this reflection, *that that is a poor houſe in which the furniture that is unknown to the maſter, is not more than that which is in ſight* *.

There was likewiſe an inſolent oſtentation of wealth in his daily repaſts †, at which not only his beds were ſpread with the richeſt purple carpets, his ſide-boards ſet out with plate adorned with precious ſtones, while muſicians and comedians attended to entertain him; but the proviſions likewiſe were all of the moſt exquiſite kind, which could not but raiſe the admiration and envy of the weak and ignorant. Therefore the anſwer which Pompey made to his phyſician in a fit of ſickneſs, was

* This paſſage is in the fifth epiſtle of the firſt book.

Exilis domus eſt, ubi non et multa ſuperſunt,
Et dominos fallunt.

† The expreſſion is very remarkable in Plutarch; νεόπλουτα δ' ἦν τὰ δεῖπνα, *His repaſts were the repaſts of a man newly become rich.*

highly

highly applauded. The phyſician had preſcribed a thruſh for his dinner; and when the ſervants ſaid, *that it was a bird to be found no where in the ſummer but in Lucullus's penns*, Pompey would not ſuffer them to fetch one from thence, but ſaid to his phyſician, *Muſt Pompey then have died but for the luxury of Lucullus?* At the ſame time he ordered ſomething elſe, eaſier to be come at, to be got ready for him. Though Cato was his friend and brother-in-law, yet he was ſo offended at his manner of life, that when a young man had one day been making very unſeaſonably a long and tireſome ſpeech in the ſenate in commendation of frugality and temperance, Cato no longer able to bear him, ſtood up, and ſaid, *Wilt thou never have done talking, thou who art as rich as Craſſus, liveſt like Lucullus, and yet muſt be ſpeaking like Cato?* But ſome authors aſcribe this to another, and not to Cato.

It is plain from the many ſayings which are recorded of Lucullus, that he not only took a pleaſure, but gloried in that way of living. For when he had feaſted ſome Greeks upon their firſt arrival at Rome, for ſeveral days together, and they, who had been accuſtomed to the temperance and ſimplicity of their own country, refuſed to come any more by reaſon of the prodigious expenſe they put him to, Lucullus told them with a ſmile, *It is true, my friends, of all this expenſe a ſmall part is for your ſakes, but the greateſt for the ſake of Lucullus.*

Once, when he ſupped alone, there being only one table, and that but moderately furniſhed, he called his ſteward, and reproved him for it; and when the ſteward ſaid in his own juſtification, that ſince no company was invited, he thought there had been no occaſion for a great entertainment, *What*, ſaid he, *did you not know that Lucullus was to ſup with Lucullus to-night?*

His luxury was the common topic of converſation in the city. And when Cicero and Pompey ſaw him

him one day walking at leiſure in the forum, they went and joined him. Cicero was one of his moſt intimate friends; and though Pompey and he had been at variance about the command in the army, yet they frequently ſaw each other, and converſed with great civility. Cicero, after he had ſaluted him, aſked him, *If he would let them ſup with him? With all my heart*, replied Lucullus, and preſſed them to name the day. *This very evening*, ſaid Cicero, *we will go home with you, provided you give us no more than your own ſupper*. Lucullus at firſt would have evaded it, deſiring them to put it off till the next day, which they refuſed. They would not ſo much as let him ſpeak to any of his ſervants, for fear he ſhould give orders to have ſomething added. With much ado they allowed him to tell one of them in their hearing *that he would ſup in the Apollo*, which was the name of one of the beſt rooms in his houſe; and by that means he deceived them; for every room had its ſtated expenſe, its own bill of fare, and particular furniture; ſo that when the ſervants were once told in what room he would ſup, they immediately knew what the ſupper was to coſt, and in what manner every thing was to be prepared and regulated. His ſuppers in the Apollo were ſtated at fifty thouſand drachmas; and that was the ſum laid out in that day's entertainment; ſo that Pompey was ſurpriſed not only at the expenſe, but at the ſhortneſs of time wherein it was prepared. Thus wantonly and riotouſly did Lucullus employ his wealth, treating it like what indeed it was, a captive and a barbarian.

It is true he was at another expenſe that was more honourable. For he made a collection of a great number of the moſt valuable books. And the uſe he made of them was ſtill more laudable than his expenſe in purchaſing them; for this library was open to all that came, and every one had acceſs to the walks, galleries, and cabinets belonging

ing to it. The Greeks that were then at Rome, when at leiſure from other affairs, reſorted to it as to the reſidence of the muſes, and ſpent whole days together in learned converſation. Lucullus himſelf would often walk and confer with thoſe learned men in his galleries. He would likewiſe adviſe and aſſiſt them in the management of their affairs, when they deſired it of him. So that his houſe might be truly called the *ſanctuary* and *Prytaneum* of Greece, whither all the Greeks that were at Rome reſorted.

He had a great eſteem for philoſophy in general, being an enemy to none of the ſects into which it was divided; but his particular attachment was to the academy, not to that which was called the new academy, though the writings of Carneades, as they were explained by Philo, had brought it much in vogue, but to the old academy, the doctrines of which were then maintained with great eloquence and force of argument by Antiochus of Aſcalon. Lucullus had courted the friendſhip of that learned man with great zeal and aſſiduity; he entertained him in his own houſe, and ſet him up in oppoſition to Philo's auditors, among whom was Cicero, who wrote an excellent treatiſe againſt the old academy, wherein he made Lucullus maintain the opinion of that ſect, which aſſerts that there are things of which man may arrive at a certain knowledge, and he himſelf maintained the contrary opinion, which was that of the new academy. This book is called *Lucullus* *. For there was, as I obſerved before, a great intimacy and friendſhip between them, as they were of the ſame party with reſpect to the government. For Lucullus had not abſolutely retired from public affairs, but had only reſigned to Craſſus and Cato the contention for the ſupreme authority in the republic, thinking that

* It is the ſecond book of his academic queſtions, which has the name of *Lucullus*.

ſuch

ſuch an emulation was attended with danger, and would expoſe a man to much reproach and indignity. When Lucullus had refuſed to place himſelf at the head of the ſenate, they who grew jealous of Pompey's power, joined themſelves with Craſſus and Cato. In the mean time Lucullus continued to go to the aſſemblies of the people when he could ſerve any of his friends by it, and to the ſenate when he could be of uſe in defeating any of Pompey's pernicious projects, and curbing his ambition. He cauſed all the edicts he had publiſhed after he had reduced the two kings to be revoked, and joined with Cato in preventing a law he had propoſed for the diviſion of lands to the ſoldiers. Pompey upon this joined in friendſhip, or rather in a conſpiracy, with Craſſus and Cæſar; and filling the city with armed men, he eſtabliſhed his decrees by force, having firſt driven Lucullus and Cato out of the aſſembly.

When Pompey's party found theſe proceedings highly reſented by the nobility, they ſuborned one Vectius, pretending to have diſcovered that he had a deſign againſt Pompey's life. Vectius being examined in the ſenate, without any mention of Lucullus, named others; but in an aſſembly of the people, accuſed Lucullus by name, as the perſon who had employed him to murder Pompey. No one gave credit to this depoſition; for it was viſible to all, that the fellow had been hired for an evidence. In this they were thoroughly confirmed a few days after, when the corpſe of this informer was found lying at the priſon-door. It was given out indeed, that he had laid violent hands on himſelf; but the marks of the cord with which they had ſtrangled him, and of the blows they gave him, plainly demonſtrated that the very perſons by whom he was firſt employed were his murderers. This alienated Lucullus more than ever from public affairs; but when Cicero was baniſhed, and Cato ſent to Cyprus,

prus, then he withdrew himſelf entirely. It is ſaid, that ſome time before his death he grew mopiſh and ſtupid, age having by degrees impaired his intellects. But Cornelius Nepos denies that his mind was weakened either by age or ſickneſs, but by a potion given him by one of his freedmen, called *Calliſthenes*, who gave it him not with an ill intention, but believing that it was of ſuch a quality as to make his maſter more fond of him; but it ſo intoxicated and diſabled him, that even before he died his brother had the management of his affairs. Notwithſtanding which, when he came to die, the people were as much afflicted at his death, as if he had fallen in the height of his proſperity and glory. They flocked in crouds to his funeral, and as ſome young men of the firſt quality in Rome were bearing the corpſe into the forum, they inſiſted that he ſhould be interred in the Campus Martius, where they had buried Sylla; but as that was a thing that had not been expected, and no proviſion was made for ſuch obſequies, his brother prevailed upon them by prayers and entreaties, to let him be buried, as it was at firſt deſigned, at his country-ſeat at Tuſculum. He did not long ſurvive him; but as he had followed him cloſe in the courſe of age, and the attainment of honours, ſo likewiſe did he in the laſt article of life, ſoon following him to his grave, and leaving behind him the character of a moſt affectionate brother.

The Compariſon of Lucullus with Cimon.

THE good fortune of Lucullus appears in nothing more conſpicuous than in the time wherein he died. He cloſed his eyes before they had been witneſſes to thoſe great revolutions which fate was then peparing, and which the civil wars

produced ſoon after. When he died, the city was indeed weak and languiſhing, but ſtill free and independent. And in this more than any thing elſe does he reſemble Cimon. For he died likewiſe whilſt the Greeks were ſtill united and in a flouriſhing condition. But there is this difference between them; Cimon died in his camp; he had not been deprived of his charge; nor did he give himſelf up to indolence and inactivity, propoſing no other end or reward of all his toils, expeditions, and achievements, than debauch and luxury, like the poet Orpheus, whom Plato ridicules for maintaining *that the reward prepared below for thoſe who lead a virtuous life in this world is a perpetual druknenneſs* *. It muſt be confeſſed, that tranquillity and repoſe, and thoſe ſtudies which join pleaſure with contemplation and inſtruction, are for an old man, who has been by age obliged to quit the field, and retire from the civil adminiſtration, an entertainment highly becoming and honourable. But for a man to make pleaſure the ultimate end of all his brave exploits, and after ſo many victorious expeditions, and the command of ſuch invincible armies, to ſpend his time in celebrating the feſtivals of Venus, and to wallow in wantonneſs and ſenſuality; this is ſo far beneath the dignity of the academy, ſo unbecoming one who ſets up for a follower of Xenocrates, that it is fit only for ſuch as maintain the principles of Epicurus. But that which is the moſt extraordinary is, that the one in his youth was looſe and intemperate, the other ſober and ſtudious. Now, he is moſt to be commended who changes for the better; and that is certainly the beſt diſpoſition where vice

* The paſſage here alluded to is in the ſecond book of Plato's republic. But he does not there ridicule Orpheus, but Muſæus and his ſon, for teaching this doctrine. Perhaps, indeed, Plutarch might not intend by the words τὰς περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα to ſignify Orpheus himſelf, but his followers; for Muſæus and his ſon Eumolpus are ſaid to have been the diſciples of Orpheus,

gradually

gradually decays, and virtue gathers ſtrength and flouriſhes.

They were both rich alike, but did not make a like uſe of their riches; for we are not to compare Lucullus's houſe at Naples, and the buildings which he raiſed in the water, all which were erected out of the ſpoils taken from the Barbarians, with the wall which was built on the ſouth ſide of the citadel with the money which Cimon brought to Athens. Nor are we to compare the table of Lucullus with that of Cimon; one was a table of coſt and magnificence, the other of charity and hoſpitality. That of Cimon daily fed a great number at a ſmall charge; that of Lucullus regaled only a ſelect company of his luxurious friends at a vaſt expenſe. It may indeed be ſaid, that time only might create this difference between them. For who can tell but that Cimon, if he had lived to be old, and age had diſqualified him for all civil and military employments, might, after all his great actions and ſervices, have taken the ſame turn, and plunged himſelf in riot and luxury; eſpecially conſidering that he was naturally addicted to drinking and revelling, and was known to be of an amorous conſtitution? For it is certain, that great and glorious actions fill the mind with pleaſures of a more exalted kind, ſo that the low and ſordid appetites are neglected and forgotten by thoſe who are naturally ambitious, and engage in the management of public affairs. Had Lucullus therefore died in the midſt of action, and whilſt his laurels were freſh upon him, I do not think the moſt malicious detractor would have charged him with the leaſt irregularity or indecency. Thus much for their manners and common courſe of life.

As for their military capacities, it is certain, they were both excellent commanders by ſea as well as at land. But as among champions, thoſe who have in one day carried the prize in wreſtling, and all the

other exerciſes, are proclaimed not under the ſimple title of *conquerors*, but under that of *wonderful* and *extraordinary*; thus Cimon, who in one day obtained two crowns for Greece, the one in a battle gained by land, and the other in a naval engagement, ſeems to me to claim ſome diſtinction and preference before all other commanders.

Lucullus owed his authority to his country, whereas Athens owed hers to Cimon. Lucullus found Rome domineering over her allies, and made uſe of their forces to extend her conqueſts; whereas Cimon found Athens in a ſubordinate and dependent condition; notwithſtanding which he in time put it in her power to give law to her allies, and made her triumph over her enemies, by driving the Perſians out of the ſea, and perſuading the Spartans voluntarily to quit the command to the Athenians.

If it be the higheſt excellence in a general, by gaining the affection of the ſoldiers to render their obedience cheerful and voluntary, how great was the difference between them? Lucullus was deſpiſed, and Cimon on the other hand always beloved, not only by his own ſoldiers, but by thoſe of the confederates. Lucullus was deſerted by his own, and Cimon courted even by ſtrangers; Lucullus ſet out at the head of an army, and returned alone, being forſaken by that very army which he commanded; Cimon marched with troops, who like him were ſubject to the command of others, and returned glorioufly with the ſame troops who now commanded thoſe to whom they were before in ſubjection, having firſt procured to his country three things very difficult to be obtained, peace with her enemies, the command over her allies, and a good underſtanding with the Lacedæmonians.

Both of them undertook the conqueſt of mighty empires, and even of all Aſia, and both miſcarried in the attempt; one purely through the malignity of fortune, for death cut him off at the head of his

his army in the full tide of ſucceſs; whereas Lucullus is not entirely free from reproach, for having been the ſole cauſe of his own diſaſters, either becauſe he knew not, or did not take care to remedy the diſcontents and complaints of the army, which at laſt ended in a general hatred and animoſity againſt him.

It is true, it may ſaid that this he had in common with Cimon, whoſe citizens raiſed a proceſs againſt him, and in the end baniſhed him by the oſtraciſm, that, as Plato ſays, they might not hear him ſpeak for ten years together. For ſuch as are naturally inclined to ariſtocracy are never in any degree of favour with the people; and as they commonly are violent and overbearing, they wound thoſe they would cure, like a ſurgeon's bandage, which though intended to confine and reſtore a diſlocated part, yet is at the ſame time very painful to the patient. Wherefore it may be unjuſt to blame either of them on this account.

Lucullus carried his arms much farther than Cimon. He was the firſt of all the Romans who marched an army over Mount Taurus, and paſſed the Tigris. He took and burned the royal cities in Aſia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, and Niſibis, even in the ſight of their princes. He penetrated as far as the river Phaſis to the north, as far as Media to the eaſt, and by the aſſiſtance of the kings of the Arabians as far as the Red ſea to the ſouth, ſubduing all to the Roman empire, and breaking the power of thoſe monarchies. There was nothing wanting to render his conqueſts and glory complete, but the taking the kings themſelves priſoners; but they like wild beaſts fled into inacceſſible deſerts and impenetrable foreſts. The advantage Lucullus has over Cimon in this particular is evident from this, that the Perſians, as if the advantages obtained over them by Cimon had been of little moment, ſoon recovered themſelves, attacked

the Grecians, and defeated their army in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates were never able to perform any thing conſiderable after the victories obtained over them by Lucullus. Inſtead of which, Mithridates, exhauſted and enfeebled by the preceding engagements, durſt not even once lead his army out of their entrenchments againſt Pompey, but fled to the Boſphorus, where he died; and Tigranes, naked and unarmed, in a ſuppliant manner fell at Pompey's knees, and taking his crown from his head, laid it at his feet, complimenting that general with ornaments which were no longer his own, for they belonged to the triumph of Lucullus; and when Pompey returned it to him, he received it with great tokens of ſatisfaction, confeſſing by this behaviour, that he had before been deprived of it. He therefore is the greateſt captain, as well as the beſt wreſtler, who leaves his adverſary broken, and in a manner ready conquered to his ſucceſſor's hands. Now Cimon at his arrival found the king's power extremely enfeebled, and the haughtineſs of the Perſians abated by the continual loſſes and defeats they had ſuffered from Themiſtocles, Pauſanias, and Leotychidas; ſo that he met with an eaſy conqueſt over the bodies of thoſe whoſe minds were broken and diſpirited before. Whereas Lucullus had to deal with a prince, who had never met with any check or repulſe, and whoſe ſpirit was elevated by the many victories he had obtained.

As to the number of the enemies, there is no compariſon between thoſe who fought againſt Lucullus, and thoſe ſubdued by Cimon *. So that, upon

* Plutarch's expreſſion here is very equivocal. Lucullus had numerous armies to encounter, but Cimon had ſtill greater. In one day he obtained two great victories; for he defeated the Perſian fleet, which conſiſted of ſix hundred ſail, and beat their land-army, which was very numerous, and purſuing his victory, ſailed againſt fourſcore ſhips of the Phœnicians ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Perſians, fought and

upon the whole, it is no eaſy matter to determine between them, and declare which of them was the greateſt; for the gods themſelves were equally favourable to them both, in directing the one what he was to do, and warning the other what he was to avoid. Wherefore it may be ſaid, that they have given their teſtimony in favour of both, as men in whoſe nature there was ſomething heavenly and divine.

and took them. He likewiſe overthrew a ſtrong ſquadron of the Perſians, beat the Thaſians in a naval engagement, as he did likewiſe another fleet of the Perſians. In all the exploits of Lucullus, we do not find any thing ſo glorious as the two victories obtained by Cimon in one day, and the new trophies that were added to them.

THE

THE LIFE OF NICIAS.

SInce we have thought proper to compare Craſſus with Nicias, and the misfortunes in Parthia with thoſe in Sicily, we muſt firſt beſeech the reader, not to think that we contend with Thucydides in relating thoſe events which are ſo pathetically, ſo ſtrongly, ſo elegantly, ſo inimitably deſcribed by him, and in repreſenting which he has excelled himſelf; nor to believe us guilty of the like folly with Timæus the hiſtorian, who fancying himſelf able to ſurpaſs Thucydides in majeſty of ſtyle, and make Philiſtus * appear a trifling and inſipid writer, boldly ruſhes on through battles in the field, naval fights, laboured harangues, and all thoſe parts of hiſtory in which theſe writers had chiefly exerted their genius and art. I will not ſay that he is no more to be compared to them,

Than he who limps on foot with weary pace,
To Lydian chariots whirling in the race,

according to Pindar's expreſſion; but that he is al-

* Cicero calls Philiſtus the younger Thucydides, becauſe he imitated his ſtyle. He wanted the ſtrength of Thucydides, but he atoned for that defect by greater clearneſs and perſpicuity.

together

together a ſhallow puerile writer, and, as Diphilus ſays,

All fat, and rolling in Sicilian greaſe *.

He oftentimes falls as low, as even Xenarchus † himſelf, telling us, *that he thought it ominous to the Athenians, that their general, whoſe name imported victory* ‡, *refuſed to command in the expedition:* and that *from the defacing the Hermæ* ‖, *the gods foretold, that they ſhould very much ſuffer in war, from the commander of the Syracuſans, Hemocrates the ſon of Hermon* †. And in another place he tells us, *it was very likely that Hercules would aid the Syracuſans, for the ſake of Proſerpine, by whoſe means he took Cerberus; and that he was offended at the Athenians for protecting the Ægeſteans, who were deſcended from the Trojans his mortal enemies, whoſe city he had deſtroyed to revenge an injury he had received from their king Laomedon.* But theſe obſervations, I ſuppoſe, are the effect of the ſame refined taſte and judgment, which taught him to criticiſe the language of Philiſtus, and to carp at Plato and Ariſtotle.

To be ſolicitous to ſurpaſs other writers in ſtyle, ſhows, I think, in general, a mean ambition, worthy only of a ſophiſt; but to attempt to ſurpaſs what is inimitable, is a proof of conſummate ſtupidity. Since therefore there are many actions of Nicias already related by Thucydides and Philiſtus which muſt not be entirely omitted, eſpecially thoſe that diſcover the genius and diſpoſition of the

* The Sicilians were eſteemed a very dull people, yet vain and talkative.

† It is uncertain who this Xenarchus was; for we are not to miſtake him for Xenarchus the Peripatetic, who was Strabo's maſter. Some will have him to be the ſame with Xenarchus the comic poet, the author of ſeveral Mimi.

‡ *i. e.* Nicias. The word *Nice* ſignifies *victory*.

‖ See an account of the defacing the Hermæ in the life of Alcibiades, vol. ii.

† This paſſage is quoted by Longinus as an example of that frigid ſtyle, and thoſe puerilities he had condemned in Timæus.

man,

man, which under his many and great troubles lay concealed, theſe I ſhall briefly mention, that I may not ſeem altogether negligent, but ſhall enlarge upon them no further than is abſolutely neceſſary; and ſuch things as are not vulgarly known, and lie ſcattered up and down in other mens writings, or are found in old inſcriptions and public records, I ſhall endeavour to bring together; not with a view to gratify curioſity without any further advantage, but to diſcover the temper and character of the perſon whoſe life I am writing.

The firſt thing to be obſerved of Nicias, is what Ariſtotle has written concerning him. He ſays, *that there were at the ſame time in Athens three citizens eminent above all the reſt for their paternal affection to the people, Nicias the ſon of Niceratus, Thucydides the ſon of Mileſias, and Theramenes the ſon of Agnon*; but the laſt of theſe came ſhort of the other two in that reſpect, for he was reproached for his foreign extraction, he being a native of Ceos; beſides, he was of an unſettled inconſtant temper, and ſided ſometimes with one party, and ſometimes with another, in the commonwealth, ſo that he obtained the nickname of *Buſkin*. Of theſe three Thucydides was the eldeſt, and eſpouſed the intereſt of the nobility, which often led him to oppoſe Pericles, who ſtudied to ingratiate himſelf with the common people. Nicias, though younger, was yet in ſome reputation even whilſt Pericles lived; ſo that he was ſometimes in joint commiſſion with him, and frequently was general alone. But after the death of Pericles he ſoon roſe to the higheſt preferments, chiefly by the favour of the nobility, who choſe him for their protector againſt the preſumption and inſolence of Cleon; yet at the ſame time he preſerved his intereſt with the commons, who had an affection for him, and contributed to his advancement. It is true that Cleon had very great intereſt, which he obtained by making his court to the old

old men, and by giving frequent donations to the poor; yet even they, whom he thus practiſed upon for their favour, beholding the avarice, the arrogance, and the preſumption of the man, gave the preference to Nicias. For his gravity was not harſh and odious, but tempered with a certain reſpect and deference, which very much reſembled timidity, and recommended him exceedingly to the people. He was naturally diffident and timorous, but his good fortune concealed his want of courage in battle, for he always came off with ſucceſs. But his timorouſneſs in affairs of government, and his dread of informers, tended very much to procure him the good-will of the people, and gave him no ſmall power over them, who are always afraid of thoſe that deſpiſe them, and promote ſuch as ſtand in awe of them; for the greateſt honour they aim at, is not to be held in contempt by their ſuperiors.

Pericles, who by ſolid virtue, and the force of eloquence ruled the commonwealth, ſtood in need of no diſguiſe or artifice to gain the favour of the people; whereas Nicias, who was inferior to him in thoſe talents, but abounded in wealth, made uſe of that to render himſelf popular. And as he had not from nature the ready wit of Cleon, who by jeſts and drollery pleaſed and diverted the Athenians, he entertained the people with dances, games, and public ſhows, more ſumptuous and elegant than had been ever known in his, or in former ages.

Amongſt his religious offerings there is extant, even in our days, a ſtatue of Minerva in the citadel, of which the gold covering is loſt, and a little chapel in the temple of Bacchus, placed under the tripods, which had likewiſe been preſented by him, and are the uſual offerings of ſuch as gain the prize in the public ſhows, in which he always came off victorious. It happened one day whilſt he

he was exhibiting one of theſe ſhows to the people, that a ſlave of his came upon the ſtage, very young, beautiful, and well ſhaped, and richly habited, being to perſonate Bacchus. The Athenians, pleaſed at ſo agreeable a ſpectacle, clapped their hands, and continued for ſome time to teſtify their ſatisfaction and applauſe; at laſt Nicias ſtood up, and declared, *That he thought it a great impiety any longer to detain in ſlavery a perſon who by the public voice had been likened to a deity*, and immediately gave him his liberty.

His offerings at Delos are mentioned to this day, as noble and magnificent proofs of his devotion. Before his time the bands of muſic, which the cities of Greece uſed to ſend to Delos to ſing hymns to Apollo *, generally arrived in great hurry and confuſion. For the inhabitants of the iſland ran in crouds to the ſea-ſide as ſoon as the ſhip appeared, and without ſtaying till the performers were landed, they cried out with great impatience for them to begin; ſo that they were forced to ſing, put on their chaplets, and religious veſtments all at the ſame time, which could not be done without much diſorder and indecency.

When Nicias conducted this ſacred proceſſion, inſtead of ſteering directly to Delos, he landed at the iſle of Rhenia, having with him the chorus, the victims for the ſacrifice, and every thing elſe neceſſary for the feſtival. He carried with him a bridge he had ordered to be prepared at Athens of a proper length, to lay over the narrow channel that lies between Delos and Rhenia. It was a magnificent piece of work, adorned with rich gildings, fine paintings, and tapeſtry. Nicias cauſed it to be

* The chief cities in Greece uſed every year to ſend choruſes of muſic to Delos, where they were to ſing hymns to Apollo, and this proceſſion was called *Theoria*. The perſon appointed to conduct this ſolemnity was always choſen out of the chief of the citizens; and it was looked upon as a great honour to be dignified with that office.

laid

laid over the channel in the night-time, and early in the morning began the proceſſion, the muſicians in their coſtly habits marching in order, and ſinging as they paſſed over the bridge.

The ſacrifices, the games, and the feaſt being over, he ſet up a palm-tree of braſs as a preſent to the god, and bought a piece of land for ten thouſand drachmas, which he conſecrated. The revenue of this land was to be laid out annually in a ſacrifice and feaſt, wherein the Delians were to pray for the health and proſperity of Nicias. This was engraved on a pillar, which he erected and left at Delos as a monument and record of this benefaction. The palm tree being afterwards blown down by the wind, fell on the great ſtatue which the Naxians had preſented, and beat it to the ground *.

It is very plain, that much of this looks like vain-glory, and ſhows a ſtrong affectation of popularity and deſire of applauſe. Yet from the other qualities and behaviour of the man, one might believe all this coſt and magnificence to be purely the effect of his devotion. For he was one of thoſe who dreaded the divine powers extremely, and (as Thucydides informs us) *was devout even to ſuperſtition* †. In one of Paſiphon's dialogues we are told, that *he daily ſacrificed to the gods, and kept a ſoothſayer in his houſe, whom he pretended to conſult always about the commonwealth; whereas, for the moſt part, he inquired only concerning his private affairs, and more eſpecially about his ſilver mines*; for he poſſeſſed many, and of

* This was a ſtatue of Apollo which had been dedicated by the Naxians. Some travellers who have been at Delos relate, that among a great heap of ruins, and broken ſtatues, near the temple of Apollo, is to be ſeen a great piece of marble, which had been the plinth of the ſtatue, on which there is this inſcription.

ΝΑΞΙΟΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ.

The Naxians to Apollo.

† This paſſage is in the ſeventh book of Thucydides, where he ſpeaks of the eclipſe which terrified Nicias when he was embarking in order to leave Sicily.

great value, in the borough of Laurium; but they were not wrought without hazard. He maintained there a multitude of ſlaves, and his wealth conſiſted chiefly in ſilver; ſo that he had many retainers, who had what they wanted for aſking. For he gave freely to thoſe he ſtood in fear of, as well as to ſuch as were worthy of his liberality. In ſhort, his fear was an annual revenue to knaves, and his humanity to honeſt men. Of this even the comic writers are a ſufficient evidence. Teleclides brings in an informer, ſpeaking thus: *Charicles would not give him one mina to oblige him not to diſcover that he was the eldeſt of his mother's children, and the firſt fruits of her amours. Whereas Nicias the ſon of Niceratus gave him four. Though I very well know the reaſon of this generoſity, I will diſcloſe it to nobody; for Nicias is my friend, and in my opinion a very wiſe man.*

The poet Eupolis, in one of his pieces called *Marica*, introduces another informer, whom he ſatirizes, and makes him ſpeak in this manner to a poor ſimple fellow.

Informer. *Tell me, friend, when didſt thou ſee Nicias?*

Poor man. *I never ſaw him till lately in the forum.*

Informer. *He confeſſes that he has ſeen Nicias. And what did he ſee him for, unleſs to receive his money, and be bribed by him? My friends, you bear me witneſs. We have caught Nicias in the very fact.*

Poet. *You are a pareel of coxcombs, if you ever think to ſurpriſe an honeſt man, ſuch as Nicias, in an unjuſtifiable action.*

And Cleon in Ariſtophanes ſays in a menacing tone,

I will ſtop the mouths of their orators, and make Nicias tremble *.

Phrynichus alludes to the exceſſive timidity that

* This is in the Equites of Ariſtophanes, v. 357.; but it is not Cleon but Agoracritus that ſpeaks.

appeared

appeared in his aſpect, in this paſſage: *He, I know, was an honeſt man and a good citizen; he did not walk the ſtreets with a downcaſt look, like Nicias.*

He was ſo afraid of informers, that he would neither venture to eat or converſe with any of the citizens, nor would he viſit, or be viſited, or, in a word, enter into any amuſements of this kind. When he was archon, he uſed to ſtay in court till night, being always the firſt that came, and the laſt that went away. When no public buſineſs called him from home, it was no eaſy matter to get acceſs to him, for he kept himſelf cloſe within doors; and when any came to ſpeak with him, he had ſome particular friend ready who went to the gate, deſiring Nicias might be excuſed, becauſe he was then taken up with ſome important affairs relating to the ſtate.

The perſon who acted the chief part in this comedy, and contributed more than any to gain him the reputation of a man overcharged with buſineſs, was Hiero, who had been educated in Nicias's family, and inſtructed by him in letters and muſic: he pretended to be the ſon of Dionyſius ſurnamed *Chalcus*, whoſe poems are yet extant, and who having been choſen leader of a colony which was ſent into Italy, ſettled there, and built the city of Thurii. This Hiero tranſacted all his ſecret buſineſs with the diviners, and repreſented in his ſpeeches to the people, *what a toilſome and miſerable life Nicias led, for the ſake of the commonwealth. He* (ſaid Hiero) *can never be quiet; even at the bath, and at his meals, ſome public care always ſeizes him. Careleſs of his own, and zealous for the public good, he ſcarce ever goes to bed, till after others have had their firſt ſleep: ſo that his health is impaired, and his body waſted. Not being cheerful and affable with his friends, he loſes them, together with his own private fortune, for the ſake of the public: whilſt other men make friends by being in office, enrich themſelves, fare luxurioufly, and make public buſi-*

neſs an amuſement. Such indeed was Nicias's manner of life, that he might apply to himſelf that ſaying of Agamemnon,

Slaves to the people, we but ſerve in ſtate,
Though pomp ſurround us, and they call us great.

Nicias obſerved, that the people readily made uſe of the capacity of thoſe who excelled in eloquence and prudence when they wanted them; but he obſerved at the ſame time, that they were jealous of their abilities, kept a watchful eye over them, checked their pride on all occaſions, and leſſened their reputation. This was but too manifeſt in their condemnation of Pericles, their baniſhment of Damon, their diſtruſt of Antiphon the Rhamnuſian, but eſpecially in the caſe of Paches, who had taken Leſbos, and who being ſummoned to give an account of his conduct, drew his ſword in open court, and ſlew himſelf.

On theſe conſiderations Nicias declined the command in all expeditions that were long and difficult; and when he was in commiſſion, he would hazard nothing; it is no wonder therefore if he ſucceeded in all his undertakings; and yet he never attributed his ſucceſs to any wiſdom, conduct, or courage of his own, but (to avoid envy) he aſcribed it to fortune and the favour of the gods. This is very evident from the occurrences of thoſe times: for Nicias had no ſhare in bringing on any of thoſe heavy calamities which then befel the Athenians. If they were defeated in Thrace by the Chalcidians, it was under the conduct of Calliadas and Xenophon; if they were unfortunate in Ætolia, it was when Demoſthenes was their general; if they loſt a thouſand men at Delium in Bœotia, it was when Hippocrates commanded. And as for the plague with which Athens was viſited, that was chiefly to be charged upon Pericles, who, by reaſon of the war, had forced all the inhabitants of the country into

into the city, where the change of air, close confinement, and different way of living, produced that horrible contagion.

None of these calamities could be imputed to Nicias. On the contrary, he took the island of Cithera, so commodiously situated for making incursions into Laconia, and inhabited by the Lacedæmonians. He likewise reduced several towns in Thrace, which had revolted from the Athenians. He confined the Megarensians within their own walls, and then made himself master of the island of Minoa; and marching from thence, he soon after seized on the haven of Nisæa, made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, where he gained an entire victory, killing great numbers of the Corinthians upon the spot, and among the rest Lycophron their general. There he had the misfortune, without knowing it till it was too late, to leave two of his soldiers dead behind him, they having been overlooked when search was made, and the dead were carried off in order to be buried. As soon as he perceived it, he slackened his sails, and sent an herald to the enemy for leave to carry off the dead. Now, by the laws and customs of war, they who demanded a truce in order to carry off their dead, gave up all pretensions to the victory, so that they were not suffered to erect a trophy, because they who have the dead in their power are properly masters of the field, and not they who demand them; for if they are, why do they not take them? Notwithstanding this, Nicias chose rather to give up the honour of the victory, than to suffer two citizens to lie unburied *.

After he had scoured the coast of Laconia, and put to flight the Lacedæmonians that made head a-

* The care of the dead was a duty so incumbent upon them, that about eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put six of their generals to death for not burying the soldiers that were slain in the battle with the Arginusians.

gainſt him, he took the fort of Thyræa *, which was garriſoned by the Æginetæ, and carried them away priſoners to Athens.

Demoſthenes the Athenian general having fortified Pylos †, the Peloponneſians immediately marched againſt it, and laid cloſe ſiege to it both by ſea and land; but being overthrown in an engagement, they threw about four hundred Spartans into the iſland of Sphacteria. The Athenians thought it of great conſequence, as indeed it was, to take thoſe men priſoners. But the ſiege proved very troubleſome and difficult, for the country afforded them no water, and they could not receive their convoys without prodigious labour and expenſe; it being neceſſary for them to go a great way about in the ſummer, and in winter the paſſage was impracticable. This made them ſoon weary of their undertaking; and they repented having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors ſent by the Lacedæmonians to negotiate a peace. They had taken that ſtep at the inſtigation of Cleon, who oppoſed the peace out of pique to Nicias, for he was his declared enemy; and when he ſaw that Nicias made uſe of all his credit to ſupport the Spartans in their demands, he on the contrary prevailed on the people to reject all offers of accommodation.

When they found that the ſiege held out much longer than was expected, and heard that their army was reduced by the want of neceſſaries to great extremity, they began to be enraged at Cleon. He laid the whole blame upon Nicias, charging him

* Thyræa was a fort ſituated between Laconia, and the country of the Argians. It belonged of right to the Lacedæmonians, but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been driven out of their country. *Thucydid. lib.* iv.

† The Peloponneſians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis the ſon of Archidamus, and ravaged the country. In the mean time Demoſthenes the Athenian general ſeized on Pylos, and fortified it. This obliged Agis to quit Attica, and haſten to the ſuccour of his own country, The reader will find an account of this at large in the fourth book of Thucydides.

with

with cowardice, by which he ſuffered the enemy to eſcape. *If I*, ſaid he, *had been general, the Spartans ſhould not have held out ſo long*. Here the Athenians took him at his word, and with one voice ſaid, *Go thou then immediately againſt them*; and Nicias riſing up ſaid, *I very willingly yield to Cleon the command in this expedition againſt Pylos*. At the ſame time he ordered him to raiſe what forces he thought neceſſary, and embark without loſs of time. *Do not ſpend thy breath*, added he, *in boaſting at home where there is no danger, but go, and render ſome important ſervice to thy country*.

Cleon, ſurpriſed and confounded to be thus taken at his word, began to draw back, and unſay what he had advanced; but the Athenians commanding him to depart, and Nicias ſtrongly inſiſting upon it, he was at once fired with courage and ambition, and did not only take the charge upon him, but even limited the time, and declared, that, within the ſpace of twenty days after he was embarked, he would either kill the enemy upon the ſpot, or bring them priſoners to Athens. This the Athenians were readier to laugh at, than to believe; for, on other occaſions, his levity and extravagance uſed to pleaſe and divert them. As for inſtance, it is reported, that once when the people were aſſembled, and had waited for his coming a long time, at laſt he entered with a garland on his head, and begged them to adjourn to the next day; *for* (ſaid he) *I am not at leiſure to-day, I have ſacrificed to the gods, and am to feaſt ſome ſtrangers*. Upon this the Athenians laughing, roſe up, and diſſolved the aſſembly. However, at this time he was ſo fortunate, and acquitted himſelf ſo well in the command, in conjunction with Demoſthenes, that, within the time he had limited, he brought captive to Athens all the Spartans that had not fallen in battle.

This brought a great diſgrace on Nicias; for if it

it be ignominious for a man to throw away his ſhield in time of battle, it is much more ſo to decline out of fear and cowardice the command of an army, and by putting it into the hands of his enemy, to give him an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf by ſo important an action.

Ariſtophanes ſneers at him on this occaſion, in his Birds, when he ſays, *This is not a time for us to linger and doze like Nicias.* And in his Huſbandmen he introduces two Athenians ſpeaking thus.

1ſt Ath. *I had rather ſtay at home and mind my farm.*
2d Ath. *Well, and who hinders thee?*
1ſt Ath. *You hinder me; and yet I am willing to pay a thouſand drachmas to be excuſed from this office.*
2d Ath. *Let us ſee them; they will make two thouſand when added to thoſe Nicias has paid on the ſame account.*

Beſide this, he did a great injury to the city, by ſuffering Cleon to acquire ſuch great reputation and power; for that enormous pride and unbridled impudence, which were the conſequence of it, produced infinite miſchiefs in the commonwealth, of all which Nicias had his full ſhare. For now Cleon baniſhed all decorum in his public orations; it was he firſt of all that broke out into violent exclamations, flung open his cloak, ſmote his thigh, and ran up and down whilſt he was ſpeaking, which ſoon after introduced amongſt thoſe who managed the affairs of ſtate ſuch licentiouſneſs and contempt of decency, as brought all into confuſion.

About this time Alcibiades began to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and harangue the people. He was not ſo corrupt and licentious as Cleon; but as it is ſaid of the land of Egypt, on account of the richneſs of the ſoil,

With equal plenty all her fields produce
Both wholeſome herbs, and drugs of deadly juice;

ſo

ſo the nature of Alcibiades being ſtrong and luxuriant in both kinds, produced a great many innovations. So that Nicias, even after he had got rid of Cleon, was not able to ſettle the republic in perfect tranquillity. For having brought affairs into a promiſing ſtate, all was plunged into confuſion, and he was again embroiled in war through the impetuoſity and extravagant ambition of Alcibiades. This happened in the following manner.

They who principally oppoſed the peace of Greece were Cleon and Braſidas; for war ſet off the virtue of the one, and hid the villany of the other; it gave to the one occaſions of performing great actions, to the other of committing enormous crimes. When theſe were both ſlain in an engagement near Amphipolis, Nicias having perceived that the Spartans had long been deſirous of a peace, and that the Athenians had no great inclination to the war, both parties being alike tired, and equally willing to lay down their arms, immediately uſed all his endeavours to re-eſtabliſh a friendſhip betwixt theſe two ſtates, and to deliver the other Grecians from the calamities they laboured under, and ſo to ſecure their happineſs to after ages. He found the men of ſubſtance, the aged, and the huſbandmen generally inclined to peace; beſide theſe, he diſcourſed with many others in private, and by his arguments and remonſtrances rendered them more tractable, and leſs eager for the war. Having thus prepared the way, he gave hopes of peace to the Lacedæmonians, and adviſed them to propoſe an accommodation. They confided in him, as one whoſe moderation they had experienced in other inſtances, and particularly in the humanity and tenderneſs he had ſhown to the priſoners that had been taken at Pylos, which made their chains ſit eaſy upon them.

Both parties had already taken one ſtep towards a peace, by agreeing to a ceſſation of arms for a year,

year, during which they converſed with one another, and taſting the ſweets of ſecurity and repoſe, and the pleaſure ariſing from the liberty of a free intercourſe with ſtrangers, as well as friends, they by degrees grew averſe to war and the effuſion of blood. They heard with great demonſtrations of joy the chorus ſinging in their tragedies,

Reſt my launce, let no man mind thee,
Till around the cobwebs bind thee.

And with pleaſure remembered that ſaying, *They who ſleep in peace are not awakened by the ſound of the trumpet, but by the crow of the cock.* Reviling therefore, and ill treating thoſe who maintained that it was decreed by fate that the war ſhould hold out thrice nine years, they entered into conferences, and at laſt ſigned the peace *.

Moſt people perſuaded themſelves, that now an entire end was put to all their calamities; and Nicias was ſpoken of by every one as a man beloved by the gods, who in recompenſe for his piety had given him a name drawn from the moſt glorious and deſirable thing in the world. For they as much believed the peace to be the work of Nicias, as the war to have been the work of Pericles. And indeed Pericles had on very ſlight pretences plunged the Grecians into very great calamities; whereas Nicias perſuaded them to overlook and forget paſt offences, and become friends; for which reaſon that peace is to this very day called *the Nician peace.*

By the articles of this peace it was agreed, that all places and priſoners ſhould be reſtored on each ſide, and that the lot ſhould determine who ſhould firſt begin the reſtitution. Nicias, as Theophraſtus

* The year following this peace was ſigned, as Thucydides tells us, for fifty years, the twenty-fourth day of Elaphebolion (March) ſoon after the feaſt of Bacchus, ten years and ſome days after the war began upon the firſt incurſion of the Lacedæmonians into Attica.

writes,

writes, privately purchaſed the lot with money, that the Laceæmonians might be firſt obliged to evacuate. The Corinthians and Bœotians appeared very much diſſatisfied at this treaty, and by their complaints and accuſations had like to have renewed the war. But Nicias perſuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to ſecure the peace by a league offenſive and defenſive, which would render them more formidable to thoſe who had a mind to ſeparate from them, and bind them ſtill cloſer to each other.

Whilſt theſe matters were on foot, Alcibiades, whoſe nature was impatient of repoſe, and who hated the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they made all their applications to Nicias, and overlooked and deſpiſed him, did what he could even from the beginning to break off the negotiations, and prevent the peace, but all in vain. Some time after, however, ſeeing the Athenians not well pleaſed with the Lacedæmonians, who they thought had done them an injury by making a league with the Bœotians, and by not delivering up Panactus and Amphipolis entire, he made uſe of this occaſion to irritate the people, and inſiſted ſtrongly upon every circumſtance. At laſt having procured an embaſſy to be ſent from Argos, he endeavoured to form a confederacy between the Argives and Athenians.

Upon this the Spartans ſent their ambaſſadors with full power to Athens. They firſt had an audience in the ſenate, and every one thought their propoſals juſt and reaſonable. Wherefore Alcibiades, dreading the effects of their ſpeeches to the people, reſolved to circumvent them. Accordingly he aſſured them with an oath, *that he would aſſiſt them with all his credit, provided they denied having full powers; which*, he ſaid, *was the only way for them to ſucceed in their negotiation.* Thus were the ambaſſadors perſuaded to abandon Nicias, and attach themſelves to Alcibiades; who having conducted them into

into the aſſembly of the people, demanded of them, *if they had full power to ſettle every thing in diſpute between them?* they declared they had not; whereupon Alcibiades, contrary to their expectations, changing on a ſudden, called the council to witneſs their declaration before them, and exhorted the people *to give no credit nor ſo much as a hearing to ſuch notorious liars, who upon the very ſame ſubject could ſay one thing to-day, and to-morrow affirm the contrary.* The ambaſſadors (as we may well ſuppoſe) were ſurpriſed and confounded; Nicias himſelf was at a loſs what to ſay, and was ſtruck with wonder and amazement. Immediately the people called out for the ambaſſadors of Argos; and were for entering into an alliance with them. But that very inſtant an earthquake happened, which, very ſeaſonably for Nicias, broke up the aſſembly.

The next day, the people being again aſſembled, Nicias with much difficulty prevailed on them to poſtpone the treaty with the Argives for the preſent, and to ſend him ambaſſador to Sparta *, in which caſe he aſſured them every thing ſhould be determined to their ſatisfaction.

At his arrival in Sparta he was honoured and reſpected by all the Lacedæmonians, who looked on him as an honeſt man, and one who had expreſſed a great deal of friendſhip for them on all occaſions. Notwithſtanding this he had no ſucceſs † in his

* He was not ſent alone, but others were joined with him, as we learn from Thucydides, who has given us a very diſtinct account of this whole affair.

† In the firſt audience, Nicias laid before them all the demands of the Athenians, and all their complaints, and concluded with telling them, "that if the Lacedæmonians did not renounce the alliance they had lately entered into with the Bœotians, who had not been compriſed in the treaty of peace, the Athenians would make a league with the Argives and their allies." The Lacedæmonians being hurried by the faction of one of the Ephori, replied, "That they would not renounce their alliance with the Bœotians." All that Nicias could obtain of them, that it might not be ſaid he returned without effecting any thing, was, that they once more ſwore to the obſervance of the peace.

negotiation;

negotiation; but being over-ruled by thoſe who were in the intereſt of the Bœotians, he returned as he came, not only with reproach and diſhonour, but even in fear of the reſentment of the Athenians, who were enraged at him for being the means of releaſing a number of ſuch conſiderable priſoners. For the Spartans who had been brought from Pylos to Athens, were of the firſt families in Sparta, and related or allied to perſons of the greateſt intereſt and authority in the city. However their indignation proceeded no further againſt him than to make choice of Alcibiades for their general. At the ſame time they entered into an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had deſerted the Lacedæmonians, made a league with the Argives, and ſent ſome troops to Pylos to infeſt Laconia. Thus was the war again renewed.

The enmity between Nicias and Alcibiades was at the higheſt pitch, when the oſtraciſm was expected. It was a cuſtom with the Athenians to have recourſe to this at different periods, when they had a mind to rid themſelves for the ſpace of ten years of any perſon whom they ſuſpected and envied for his reputation or his riches. This put them both under ſtrong apprehenſions, for they had great reaſon to think the judgment would fall upon one of them. The Athenians deteſted Alcibiades for his intemperance and debauchery, and feared him for his boldneſs and intrepidity, as we have more particularly ſhown in the account of his life. Nicias's wealth had excited their envy againſt him, which was aggravated by his auſtere, reſerved, and unſociable manner of life, which ſeemed to diſcover a haughtineſs and affectation of ſuperiority unbecoming a member of a popular ſtate. Beſides, he had oppoſed their darling ſchemes, and forced them againſt their will upon thoſe meaſures which were moſt beneficial to the public; and this made him ſtill more odious. In a word, the city was divided

into two parties, the young men who were fond of war, and the old men and more ſedate citizens who were deſirous to preſerve the peace. The firſt of theſe were for making the oſtraciſm fall upon Nicias, and the others for turning it againſt Alcibiades. But as it has been well obſerved.

The worſt get honours when ſedition reigns.

Thus it fell out on this occaſion. The city being divided into factions, made room for the advancement of the moſt inſolent and profligate of mankind; amongſt whom was Hyperbolus of the borough of Perithois; a man not preſuming from any power of his own, but from his preſumption riſing into power; and by the honour he found in the city, becoming a ſcandal to it. This wretch thinking himſelf out of all danger, and owing his ſecurity to his unworthineſs, as indeed he was fitter for the gibbet than the oſtraciſm, flattered himſelf with the thoughts, that if the lot fell either on Nicias or Alcibiades, he ſhould be able to manage a party againſt him that eſcaped. He was therefore highly pleaſed at this diſſenſion, and irritated the people againſt them both. But Nicias and Alcibiades perceiving his malice, had a private meeting, at which they agreed to unite their intereſts, ſo that they both eſcaped, and the ſentence fell on Hyperbolus.

At firſt the people laughed, and made a jeſt of this; but afterwards they conſidered it in another view. They were extremely provoked, when they reflected that they had diſgraced the puniſhment by inflicting it on ſo unworthy an object; that it was proper indeed for a Thucydides, an Ariſtides, and others of like eminence and merit, but that it was what Hyperbolus might glory in, ſince he received the ſame puniſhment for his crimes, which had been inflicted on men of worth for their virtues. This is what Plato the comic poet alluded to when he ſaid;

His

His crimes, indeed, deſerv'd the fate he bore,
Condemn'd to wander from his native ſhore.
Yet, ſure, to ſuch a baſe degenerate ſlave,
The ſhell of puniſhment, but honour gave.
That mark for dangerous eminence deſign'd
Ill ſuits a wretch of ſuch a grov'ling mind.

And indeed no perſon ever after that was baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. This Hyperbolus was the laſt, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the firſt. From this event it appears, that fortune is incomprehenſible, and above the reach of human reaſoning. If Nicias had ſhared in the danger of this ſentence with Alcibiades, one of theſe two things muſt have happened; either he muſt have prevailed and removed his competitor, by which means he would have remained abſolute in Athens; or he muſt have been baniſhed himſelf, and in that caſe he would have prevented the calamities which happened to him afterwards, and would have preſerved the reputation of a wiſe and experienced commander.

I am not ignorant of what Theophraſtus ſays, that Hyperbolus was baniſhed, when Phæax, not Nicias had the conteſt with Alcibiades; but moſt authors differ from him.

About this time arrived at Athens ambaſſadors from the Ægeſtians and Leontines, to preſs the Athenians to carry the war into Sicily. Nicias oppoſed this expedition with all his might, but was overpowered by the activity and ambition of Alcibiades, who, before the day appointed for the aſſembly, had prepoſſeſſed the people, and puffed them up with vain hopes and imaginations. So that the youth in their places of exerciſe, and the old men in the ſhops and other places where they met for converſation, employed themſelves in drawing maps of Sicily, in talking of the nature and quality of the ſea that ſurrounds it, and in deſcribing its

havens, and that part of the coaſt which is oppoſite to Africa. For they did not conſider Sicily as the end of the conqueſt, but thought of making it a place of arms, and an arſenal, from whence they might carry the war againſt Carthage, and ſo make themſelves maſters of Africa, and all the ſeas, as far as the pillars of Hercules.

Whilſt their thoughts were full of this expedition, Nicias, who oppoſed it, had neither the people nor the nobility to ſupport him. The wealthy were afraid that their oppoſition might be ill interpreted, and that it would be thought they were againſt it, for fear of being engaged in the ſervice, and to avoid the expenſe of fitting out the galleys. This made them acquieſce contrary to their ſentiments.

Notwithſtanding this, Nicias was not diſcouraged, but ſtill perſiſted in his oppoſition; and when the Athenians had paſſed the decree, and joined him in the ſupreme command with Alcibiades and Lamachus, in the very next aſſembly he ſtood up, vehemently proteſted againſt the undertaking, and reproached Alcibiades for having out of a view to his own intereſt, and to gratify his ambition, drawn the city into a foreign war, which would prove fatal to the commonwealth. But all he could ſay ſignified nothing; on the contrary, from his great experience he was thought the fitteſt for the employment, and the people built their hopes of ſucceſs on nothing ſo much as his caution and timidity, joined with Alcibiades's bravery, and the mildneſs of Lamachus. Beſides, one of the orators named *Demoſtratus*, who had been the moſt zealous in animating the Athenians to this expedition, ſtood up and ſaid, *he would prevent Nicias from urging any more vain excuſes*, and thereupon moved, *that the generals might have abſolute power both at home and abroad, to order and act as they thought fit*; and this he perſuaded the people to paſs into a law.

However,

However, the prieſts are ſaid to have oppoſed this enterpriſe, declaring the ſacrifices to be inauſpicious. But Alcibiades had other diviners who had produced ſome old oracles, foretelling, *that the Athenians were to get great renown in Sicily.* At the ſame time, ſome perſons who had been at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, brought with them an oracle, which declared, *that the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans.*

They who knew any ſigns that were unfavourable, concealed them, being unwilling to be foreboders of evil; for even prodigies that were obvious and plain, would not deter the people; not the defacing of the Hermæ *, all which were maimed in one night, except that called the *Hermes* of *Andocides*, erected by the tribe Ægeis, and placed before the houſe which was then in the poſſeſſion of Andocides. Nor what was perpetrated on the altar of the *twelve gods*; for a certain man leaping up ſuddenly, and then placing himſelf aſtride upon it, with a ſtone cut off his privities. There ſtood in the temple at Delphi a golden ſtatue of Minerva placed on a palm-tree of braſs, an offering which the city of Athens had made out of the ſpoils taken from the Medes. A flight of crows reſted upon this ſtatue, pecked it for ſeveral days together, plucked off the fruit from the palm-tree, which was of gold, and flung it upon the ground. The Athenians, to elude theſe preſages, ſaid, *That they were fictions invented by the Delphians, who had been corrupted by the inhabitants of Syracuſe.* The Athenians had been directed by a certain oracle to remove the prieſteſs of Minerva from Clazomenæ to Athens; accordingly they ſent for her, and it appeared that her name was *Heſychia*; ſo that, in all

* Theſe Hermæ, or ſtatues of Mercury, were ſquare figures, placed by the Athenians at the doors of their houſes, and the gates of their temples.

likelihood, the meaning of that oracle was, that the Athenians ſhould be *quiet*.

The aſtrologer Meton, whether he was terrified at theſe preſages, or whether from reaſoning and conjecture only he was doubtful of the ſucceſs of this expedition, (wherein he himſelf had ſome command), feigned himſelf mad, and ſet his houſe on fire. Others ſay, he did not counterfeit madneſs, but ſet his houſe on fire in the night, and the next morning went into the forum with an aſpect of great diſtreſs, and beſought the people, in conſideration of his misfortune, to releaſe his ſon from the ſervice, who was ordered to go captain of a galley.

The genius of Socrates * did on this occaſion by the uſual ſigns reveal to him what would be the event of that expedition, intimating that it would be the ruin of the commonwealth. Socrates imparted this to his friends and acquaintance, and the report ſoon became public. Many were much troubled and diſcouraged, becauſe of a feſtival, which fell out at the time when the fleet was juſt ready to ſail. The women were at that very time celebrating the feaſt of Adonis, during which the ſtreets were full of images of dead men, and funeral proceſſions, and rung with the cries and lamentations of thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſolemnity; ſo that ſuch as laid any ſtreſs on things of this kind, were extremely troubled, and feared leſt all theſe warlike preparations, ſo ſplendid and ſo glorious, ſhould be blaſted on a ſudden, and come to nothing.

Nicias in oppoſing this enterpriſe while it was under deliberation, and in not ſuffering himſelf to be ſo elated by vain hopes or the honour of being appointed commander, as ever to depart from his opinion, certainly ſhowed himſelf a wiſe and honeſt man. But when he ſaw that he could not divert

* This is what Socrates ſays himſelf in the Theages. "You may ſtill learn from many of our citizens what I ſaid upon the expedition into Sicily, and the great blow we were to receive in that iſland."

the

the people from the war by all his efforts, nor get himſelf exempted from the commmand by all his entreaties, but that he was thruſt into it forcibly and againſt his will, his great caution and timidity were then out of ſeaſon; it was childiſh in him to be continually looking back from his ſhip, and inceſſantly repeating that he had been over-ruled, and that the war was undertaken contrary to his opinion. This only ſerved to diſhearten his colleagues, blunt the courage of his troops, and deaden in them that ſpirit and confidence, which is the pledge of ſucceſs in all important undertakings. He ought rather to have ruſhed upon the enemy immediately, and to have boldly put fortune's favour to the trial. Inſtead of which, when Lamachus propoſed to ſail directly to Syracuſe *, and give the enemy battle under the walls of their city, and Alcibiades was of opinion that they ſhould begin by drawing off the other cities from the Syracuſans, and then march againſt them; Nicias diſſented from them both, and inſiſted, that they ſhould cruize around the iſland, and alarm the coaſts, and having landed a ſmall ſupply of men for the Ægeſtians, return to Athens. Thus he diſtracted their counſels, and ſunk the ſpirits of the ſoldiers.

The Athenians having ſoon after this recalled Alcibiades, and ordered him home to take his trial, Nicias, who was joined indeed with another in commiſſion, but was firſt in authority, for the moſt part remained quite inactive, or merely cruized about the coaſt, or waſted his time in fruitleſs deliberations. By this means that vigorous hope and expectation which animated his troops at their

* Lamachus ſaid, "they ought to ſteer immediately for Syracuſe, and bring the enemy to an engagement at once before the walls, whilſt they were in a fright, and unprepared to receive them. For an army that comes unexpectedly upon the enemy, is always moſt terrible; but if it be expected long before it appears, it gives them time to recover themſelves out of their fright, and encourages them to look on it with contempt when they ſee it," &c. *Thucyd. lib.* vi.

firſt

firſt ſetting out, grew ſtale and languid, whilſt, on the contrary, the fear and terror with which the enemy were ſeized at the firſt appearance of ſo formidable a power, by degrees entirely wore off.

It is true, that, before Alcibiades was recalled, they advanced with ſixty galleys towards Syracuſe, fifty of which they drew up in order of battle before the haven, and the other ten they ſent in to take a view of the place. Theſe advancing up to the walls, cauſed it to be proclaimed by a herald *, *that the Leontines were at liberty to return, and take poſſeſſion of their city.*

This ſquadron took a galley of the enemy, wherein they found certain tablets, on which was ſet down a liſt of all the Syracuſans, according to their tribes. Theſe were wont to be laid up remote from the city, in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were now brought forth to furniſh a muſter-roll of ſuch as were of an age fit to bear arms. Theſe being thus taken by the Athenians, and carried to the generals, when they ſaw ſuch a vaſt number of names, the diviners put an unfortunate conſtruction upon it, intimating, that thus the oracle was fulfilled, which had foretold *that the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans.* It is ſaid indeed that this oracle was literally fulfilled at another time, when Calippus, after he had ſlain Dion, made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe.

After the departure of Alcibiades, and ſome few that attended him, Nicias had all the power and authority in his own hands. Lamachus indeed was a brave and active man, and very ready to expoſe his perſon in an engagement, but withal ſo poor and indigent, that whenever he returned from the

* They ordered it to be proclaimed by a herald, that the Athenians were come to reſtore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them; ſo that all the Leontines that were then in Syracuſe, might betake themſelves boldly to the Athenians their friends and benefactors.

command

command of the army, and paſſed his accounts, he always charged the public with a ſmall ſum laid out for cloaths and ſhoes. But Nicias, as he was proud of his many other high qualities, ſo more eſpecially of his dignity and riches. It is ſaid, that once, upon another occaſion, when he and his colleagues were ſitting together in council, he deſired Sophocles the poet, who was one of thoſe joined in commiſſion with him, to deliver his opinion firſt, becauſe he was the eldeſt. *I am*, replied Sophocles, *indeed your ſenior in point of years, but you are my ſuperior in point of merit and dignity.* Looking therefore on Lamachus as his inferior, though he was an abler officer, he managed the war in a dilatory manner, and with a timorous circumſpection, ſailing now and then round the iſland, but always keeping aloof from the enemy, which added much to their courage and confidence. After this, he went and ſat down before Hybla, a town of little conſequence or defence, notwithſtanding which he raiſed the ſiege in a few days, which made him ſtill more deſpiſed by the enemy than before. At laſt, he retired to Catana without having performed any one action but the demoliſhing Hyccara, a ſmall town belonging to the Barbarians. Here it is ſaid, Lais the courtezan being then very young, and a virgin, was ſold among other captives, and carried into Peloponneſus,

Towards the end of the ſummer, he was informed that the Syracuſans, taking courage, were preparing to attack him, and ſtrike the firſt blow; and the cavalry had already advanced with great inſolence to inſult him in his camp, aſking him, *If he was not rather come to ſettle at Catana, than to reſtore the Leontines to their houſes and poſſeſſions?*

It was with difficulty that Nicias could be perſuaded on this occaſion to ſail for Syracuſe. But as he was deſirous to form his camp before the place without moleſtation, he ſecretly ſent a man from Catana

Catana to Syracuſe *, who was to act the part of a deſerter, and inform the Syracuſans, that if they had a mind to ſurpriſe the camp of the Athenians, and make themſelves maſters of their arms and baggage, they muſt come with their whole force on a particular day, which he named to them; for as the Athenians ſpent moſt of their time in the city, thoſe of the inhabitants who were in the intereſt of the Syracuſans, had agreed, as ſoon as they appeared, to ſeize on the city-gates, and ſet fire to the Athenian fleet; that the number of thoſe who were engaged in this undertaking was very great, and that they only waited for their arrival.

This was the only warlike exploit of conſequence that he performed all the while he was in Sicily. For having by this ſtratagem enticed the enemy out of the city, which was left deſtitute, and defenceleſs, he ſailed directly thither from Catana, ſeized at once on all the ports, and made choice of an advantageous piece of ground for his encampment, where the enemy could not annoy him with that in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted, and from whence he might attack them without any impediment, with that wherein he placed his greateſt confidence.

When the Syracuſans returned from Catana, and drew up in order of battle before the city-gates, he immediately ſallied out upon them and defeated them. However, he ſlew not many on that occaſion, for the horſe hindered the purſuit. He had broken down, and demoliſhed all the bridges that lay over the river, which gave occaſion to Hermocrates general of the Syracuſans to encourage his men with this pleaſant remark, *that the conduct of*

* He knew very well, as Thucydides tells us, that it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed, if he attempted a deſcent upon a people, who were prepared to receive him, much leſs if he pretended to march by land; for as he had no cavalry in his army, and the enemy were provided with a ſtrong and well-diſciplined body of horſe, he muſt be expoſed to infinite dangers.

Nicias

Nicias was very ridiculous, who, though he was at the head of an army, made it his great care to avoid fighting, as if fighting was not the buſineſs he came for. However this defeat of their forces put them into ſo terrible a conſternation, that inſtead of the fifteen generals then in commiſſion, they choſe three others, whom the people obliged themſelves by oath to obey in every thing, giving them a full power to reſolve and act as they thought convenient.

As the temple of Jupiter Olympius ſtood near the camp, the Athenians were very deſirous to take it, becauſe it was enriched with many offerings both of gold and ſilver. Nicias delayed from time to time to order any troops thither to ſeize it, and thereby gave the Syracuſans an opportunity of ſending a detachment to ſecure it. This he did on purpoſe, conceiving that if the ſoldiers were ſuffered to pillage it, the public would receive no benefit by it, and the guilt of ſacrilege would fall upon him.

The news of the late victory ſoon ſpread over all Sicily, and yet Nicias made not the leaſt improvement of it; for a few days after he withdrew his troops to Naxus, where the army lay in winter-quarters at a vaſt expenſe, whilſt he performed only a few inconſiderable actions, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Sicilians that had revolted to him. So that the Syracuſans who were by this time recovered from their fright, had the courage to return to Catana, where they ravaged the country, and burnt the camp of the Athenians. The blame of all this was laid upon Nicias, who was always reaſoning, debating, and contriving, when he ſhould have been in action; and yet when once he was engaged, no man could find fault with his behaviour, for he was quick and vigorous in executing, though he was ſlow and timorous in reſolving.

Having determined to return with his army before Syracuſe, he executed his deſign with ſo much vigour

vigour and celerity, and at the ſame time with ſo much caution and ſecurity, that he arrived with his galleys at the peninſula of Thapſus, made a deſcent, and got poſſeſſion of the fort of Epipolæ, before the enemy had the leaſt notice of his motions. On this occaſion he defeated a ſelect body of infantry that was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the fort, took three hundred priſoners, aad routed their cavalry, which till then had been thought invincible.

But that which chiefly aſtoniſhed the Syracuſans, and ſeemed incredible to the Grecians, was, that in a ſhort ſpace of time he incloſed Syracuſe within a wall, a city not leſs than Athens, but far more difficult to be incloſed, from the unevenneſs of the ground, the nearneſs of the ſea, and the marſhes that lay nigh it. Notwithſtanding which this great work was in a manner finiſhed, though Nicias was all that while in an ill ſtate health, from the pain of the ſtone to which he was ſubject; and this may be allowed as a juſt reaſon why that wall was not entirely completed. For my part, I cannot but admire the indefatigable care of the general, as well as the exemplary courage of the ſoldiers in the many ſucceſsful actions wherein they were engaged. Euripides after their defeat and ſlaughter honoured their memory with this elegy.

Theſe eight times made the Syracuſans yield,
Though all the gods ſtood neuter in the field.

And indeed we ſhall not find only eight, but many more victories won by the Athenians over the Syracuſans; till the gods or fortune declared againſt them, and gave them a check, at a time when they were arrived at the higheſt point of their power and greatneſs. Nicias was preſent in perſon in moſt of theſe actions, in which he did violence to his conſtitution. But when his diſtemper increaſed, and became very acute, he was forced to keep within the camp, with few ſervants to attend him.

In

In the mean time Lamachus, who was now commander in chief, came to an engagement with the Syracuſans, who were drawing a croſs wall from the city in order to hinder the Athenians from finiſhing theirs. The Athenians having the advantage, and being fluſhed with victory, purſued the Syracuſans too far, and left Lamachus almoſt alone to ſuſtain the brunt of the enemy's horſe, who were coming to attack him. They were commanded by Callicrates, an experienced officer, and a perſon of diſtinguiſhed courage. This man advanced at the head of his troop, and challenged Lamachus, who immediately encountered him, and received the firſt wound, which proved mortal, and which in the very inſtant he returned upon his adverſary, ſo that they both fell down, and died together. The Syracuſans remaining maſters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off, and, without loſing a moment's time, marched to the camp of the Athenians, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. However, as ſoon as he was informed of their approach, being rouſed by neceſſity, and ſenſible of the danger with which he was threatened, he commanded thoſe about him immediately to ſet fire to the materials under the wall, which had been provided for the engines, and to the engines themſelves. This put a ſtop to the Syracuſans, and ſaved Nicias, together with the camp, and all the treaſure of the Athenians. For as ſoon as they beheld the flames riſing in vaſt columns over their heads, and ſpreading on every ſide, they were terrified, and drew off.

After this action Nicias was the ſole commander, and entertained great hopes of ſucceſs. For many of the cities revolted to him, and ſhips arrived from all parts with proviſions for his army, every one being impatient to declare in his favour, whilſt his affairs were in a proſperous condition. So that the Syracuſans themſelves, thinking it impoſſible to

hold out much longer, offered him terms of accommodation. And when Gylippus, who was coming to their relief with a fleet from Sparta, was informed by the way of the extremities to which they were reduced, and of the wall that had hemmed them in, he continued his courſe not with any deſign to defend Sicily, which he gave for loſt, but to preſerve the cities in Italy, if at leaſt he came not too late even for that ſervice. For fame had reported every where, that the Athenians carried all before them, and that they were under a general whom prudence, ſeconded by fortune, had rendered invincible. Even Nicias himſelf, contrary to his natural temper, preſuming upon his forces and ſucceſs, but eſpecially perſuaded by the intelligence he privately received from Syracuſe, that the city would ſoon ſurrender upon terms, was not in the leaſt concerned at the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any guard to prevent his landing; ſo that, in conſequence of this negligence and contempt, the Spartan general croſſed the ſtrait, and landed without the knowledge of Nicias, or any of the Athenians, at a great diſtance from Syracuſe, and ſoon raiſed a numerous army. The Syracuſans were ſo ignorant of his arrival, and ſo little expected him, that they had that very day ſummoned an aſſembly to regulate the articles of capitulation, which they were to preſent to Nicias, and ſeveral were already met preſſing diſpatch, that every thing might be ſettled before the wall was completely finiſhed; for there remained but very little to be done, and all the materials lay ready upon the place.

Juſt at this inſtant of their greateſt danger, an officer, called *Gongylus*, arrived on board a galley from Corinth. Immediately upon his arrival all the people flocked about him, and he told them, that Gylippus was hard by, and that ſeveral other ſhips were following with ſuccours to relieve them. Whilſt the Syracuſans were in ſuſpenſe, and knew not

not how to give credit to Gongylus, an expreſs arrived from Gylippus, with orders to them to march out and meet him. At this they took heart, and armed immediately.

As ſoon as Gylippus arrived before the town, he drew his troops up in order of battle; Nicias on his part did the like, and the two armies were juſt ready to engage, when Gylippus laying down his arms, ſent a herald to tell the Athenians, *That if they would quit Sicily, they might retire with ſecurity.* Nicias would not vouchſafe an anſwer to this declaration, but ſome of the ſoldiers fell a-laughing, and aſked the herald, *If the ſight of a Lacedæmonian cloak and ſtaff had ſo ſuddenly mended the affairs of the Syracuſans, as to put them in a condition to deſpiſe the Athenians, who had very lately knocked off the chains of three hundred Spartans, and releaſed them, who were all better men, and wore longer locks than Gylippus?* Timæus writes, that the Sicilians never had any high opinion of Gylippus. At firſt they laughed at him for his ſhort cloak and long hair, as they afterwards hated him for his avarice, and meanneſs of ſpirit. And yet the ſame hiſtorian adds afterwards, that as ſoon as Gylippus appeared, they all flocked about him, as the birds do about an owl, and liſted in the ſervice. And this is much more probable than what we ſaid before; for in the cloak and ſtaff they ſaw the dignity of Sparta, and therefore crouded to him out of reſpect to his authority. And Thucydides affirms, that all the work was done by him alone: ſo does Philiſthus, who was a Syracuſan, and a ſpectator of all that was tranſacted.

The Athenians had the advantage in the firſt encounter, and ſlew ſome of the Syracuſans, together with Gongylus of Corinth. But the next day Gylippus ſhowed of how much importance it is to have a ſkilful and experienced commander; for with the ſame arms, the ſame horſes, and on the

ſame ſpot of ground, by changing only the order of the battle, he overthrew the Athenians *; and when they fled to their camp, he ſet the Syracuſans to work, and with the ſtone and materials that had been brought together for finiſhing the wall of the Athenians, he built a croſs-wall to intercept theirs and break it down, for that it would be uſeleſs to the Athenians even if they ſhould gain a victory.

The Syracuſans being encouraged by this ſucceſs, manned ſeveral galleys, and in the excurſions of their cavalry took many priſoners. Gyliippus himſelf viſited the towns, exhorting them to join with him; they all liſtened to him, and readily ſupplied him. This made Nicias relapſe into his former diffidence, and reflecting on the ſudden change of affairs he became diſpirited, and wrote to the Athenians, deſiring them *either to ſend another army into Sicily, or withdraw that which was there, and at the ſame time to diſcharge him from the command, he being no longer capable of the ſervice by reaſon of his infirmities.*

Before the Athenians had received theſe letters, they had reſolved to ſend another army into Sicily; but ſome among them envying Nicias his late ſucceſs, retarded the effects of that reſolution, under ſeveral ſpecious pretences. But now his misfortunes wrought a quite contrary effect; for they immediately decreed, that Demoſthenes ſhould ſail in the very beginning of the ſpring with a ſtrong naval force, and that Eurymedon ſhould proceed inſtantly in the depth of winter with ſix galleys, and with pay for the ſoldiers, and that upon his arrival he ſhould declare Euthydemus and Menander, two officers who were ſerving under Nicias, to be joint commanders with him.

* He was ſenſible of the ill diſpoſition he had made the day before, and told his men that the late defeat was not from any fault of theirs, but from his own: for having ranged them in battle between walls where they were too much ſtraitened, he thereby deprived them of the uſe of their cavalry and archers.

In

In the mean time Nicias was at once attacked both by ſea and land; at firſt his fleet was worſted by that of Syracuſe, but in the end the Athenians prevailed, and ſunk and deſtroyed many of the enemy's galleys. He was not ſo ſucceſsful by land; for not being able to provide ſuccours in time, Gylippus fell upon Plemmyrium, and took it at the firſt aſſault; ſo that he became maſter of all the treaſure of the Athenians, their proviſions, and naval ſtores, which had been lodged there. Moſt of the ſoldiers in the garriſon were either killed or taken. But what was of the greateſt importance, Nicias by the loſs of this place loſt the convenience of his convoys; for whilſt Plemmyrium was in his poſſeſſion the communication was ſafe and eaſy, but that being now taken, the paſſage was difficult and hazardous; for his tranſports could not poſſibly paſs without fighting, as the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor under that fortreſs.

Beſides, the Syracuſans were perſuaded, that their late defeat was not owing to the ſtrength and ſuperiority of the enemy, but only to their own diſorderly purſuit. Whefore they reſolved upon a ſecond engagement, and accordingly fitted out another fleet more numerous and better equipped than the former. But Nicias declined fighting, and declared, that at a time when they were in daily expectation of a freſh fleet, and powerful reinforcements, which Demoſthenes was bringing in all haſte to them, it was madneſs in them to hazard an engagement with an inferior number of ſhips, and thoſe ill provided. But Menander and Euthydemus being puffed up with their new authority, reſolved upon ſome brave action, wherein they might be beforehand with Demoſthenes, and outdo even Nicias. Their pretence was the honour of Athens; and they maintained that it would be an eternal diſgrace to their country, if they declined fighting when the Syracuſans dared them to battle. This

forced Nicias to an engagement, wherein he was defeated by a ſtratagem of Ariſton the Corinthian *, who had the command of the galleys of Syracuſe. The left wing of the Athenians was routed, as Thucydides relates it, and they loſt great numbers of their men, and ſeveral galleys. This loſs threw Nicias into the greateſt conſternation. He conſidered that he was not able to keep his ground when he had the ſole command, and was now in a worſe ſtate than ever through the obſtinacy of his colleagues.

In the mean time the enemy deſcried Demoſthenes riding before the haven with a very magnificent and formidable fleet: for he had with him ſeventy-three galleys †, on board of which were five thouſand foot, and no leſs than three thouſand ſlingers and archers. The glittering of their armour, the waving of the ſtreamers, and the ſound of their muſic, gave the whole an air of theatrical magnificence, and ſeemed contrived on purpoſe to ſtrike the enemy with terrour and confuſion.

Thus the Syracuſans were driven back to their firſt alarms and perplexities; they ſaw no end or reſpite to their calamities; all their paſt toils, wounds, and loſſes, ſeemed now unprofitable. However Nicias did not long enjoy the pleaſure which he felt at the arrival of this powerful reinforcement; for in his firſt conference with Demoſthenes, he found

* This Ariſton who had entered into the Syracuſan ſervice, was the moſt experienced of all their pilots. Thucydides gives us an account of the ſtratagem he made uſe of, which Plutarch has not explained. He tells us, that Ariſton adviſed the captains of the galleys to ſend orders into the city, that the market ſhould be kept upon the ſtrand, that ſo the ſailors might land and refreſh themſelves, and then immediately go and attack the Athenians, who would not expect them. This was accordingly put in execution. All the ſailors went aſhore, and dined. The Athenians being hereby deceived, and concluding that they were returned back into the city, landed immediately, and went to dinner likewiſe; and whilſt they were thus employed, the enemy re-embarked, and attacked them.

† According to Diodorus Siculus, the number was 310.

him

him bent upon attacking the enemy without delay; he was for hazarding all at once, for taking Syracuſe by aſſault, and returning then to Athens.

Nicias, amazed and terrified at this precipitation and temerity, did all he could to diſſuade him from an action ſo raſh and deſperate; he repreſented to him that nothing could annoy the enemy ſo much as delay, they being then in want of money, and their allies being ready to forſake them; that when once they came to be pinched with want, they would ſue to him for articles of capitulation, as they had done before. For there were ſome perſons in the town with whom he carried on a ſecret correſpondence, and who adviſed him not to be in haſte, telling him that the Syracuſans were weary of the war, and diſpleaſed with Gylippus, and that when their neceſſities came to grow upon them, they would ſurrender at diſcretion.

All this was repreſented by Nicias, not in plain terms, but by obſcure hints, which made Demoſthenes and the other generals impute his advice to cowardice. They ſaid, *he was now returning to his former affected delays and over-cautious deliberations, by which he let ſlip the faireſt opportunities of action, and ſuffered the ardour of his troops to cool by putting off all his enterpriſes till it was too late, and till he was become contemptible to the enemy.* Upon theſe conſiderations the other generals joined with Demoſthenes, and Nicias himſelf was at laſt forced to comply.

Hereupon Demoſthenes, with a party of foot, by night made an aſſault upon Epipolæ; ſome of the enemy he ſlew ere they could take the alarm; the reſt who defended themſelves, he put to flight. Nor was he content with this advantage, but puſhed on further, till he met with the Bœotians, who were the firſt that formed, and who with loud ſhouts, levelling their ſpears, attacked the Athenians, and made a great ſlaughter among them. The whole army was immediately in the utmoſt conſternation;

conſternation; they who ſtill kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by thoſe that fled, and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to ſuſtain their companions, being repulſed by the fugitives, fell foul on one another, and took their friends for their enemies. This tumult and confuſion reduced the Athenians to the utmoſt diſtreſs; and their danger was further increaſed by the impoſſibility of clearly diſcerning objects amid the gloom and horrours of a night, which though not totally dark, yielded only a faint gleam of light very inſufficient for a diſtinct view of any thing. For the moon was then juſt ſetting, and what little light ſhe gave was rendered uſeleſs by the ſhade of ſo many bodies and weapons moving to and fro; ſo that the apprehenſion of an enemy made even a friend ſuſpected and feared. Beſide this, they had the moon on their backs, which caſting their ſhadows before them, both hid the numbers of their men, and the glittering of their armour; whereas the reflection of the light from the ſhields of the enemy, made them appear more numerous, and better armed than indeed they were. At laſt, being preſſed on every ſide, when once they gave ground, many of them fell by the hands of the enemy, and as many by their own. Several fell headlong down the rocks, others were diſperſed, and ran ſtraggling up and down in the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the enemy's horſe, and put to the ſword. The Athenians loſt two thouſand men in this action; very few eſcaped, and returned ſafe with their arms to their companions.

Nicias being exceedingly afflicted at this diſaſter, which indeed he had foreſeen, loudly inveighed againſt the raſhneſs and precipitation of Demoſthenes: but he, after he had juſtified himſelf in the beſt manner he could, gave his opinion, *That they ſhould immediatly embark, and depart, for they were to expect no other army, and it was impoſſible for them to beat*

beat the enemy with that they had; that in caſe they did beat them, yet they would be under a neceſſity of abandoning a place, which, it is well known, was always unhealthy for an army, and eſpecially deſtructive in that ſeaſon of the year, as they found to their coſt. For it was then the beginning of autumn, and many of the ſoldiers were ſick, and all of them diſpirited.

But Nicias could not bear to hear of an embarkation; not that he did not fear the Syracuſans, but he was more afraid of the Athenians, their tribunals and accuſations. He therefore maintained, *That they might remain in their preſent camp without any danger, and that, at the worſt, it was better to fall by the hands of their enemies, than by thoſe of their own citizens.* In this he was of an opinion quite different from that of Leo of Byzantium, who, long after the days of Nicias, ſaid to his citizens, *I had rather fall by you than with you.* Nicias added, *That they might at their leiſure conſider what other ſituation would be moſt commodious for the army.*

Nicias having declared his ſentiments in theſe terms, Demoſthenes, who had no reaſon to value himſelf upon his former advice, durſt not oppoſe it. The other officers imagined that Nicias had ſome private intelligence, which fed his hopes, and made him ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſe a retreat; ſo that they likewiſe ſubmitted to his opinion. But freſh forces arriving ſoon after at Syracuſe, and the contagion ſpreading in the camp of the Athenians, Nicias changed his opinion, and joined with thoſe who were for a retreat. Accordingly he commanded the ſoldiers to be in readineſs to embark.

When the proper diſpoſitions were made, and they juſt ready to go aboard, without being in the leaſt obſerved or ſuſpected by the enemy, the moon on a ſudden in the dead of the night was eclipſed, to the great terror of Nicias and the reſt, who, out of ignorance or ſuperſtition, were aſtoniſhed and terrified at ſuch appearances. An eclipſe of the

ſun,

ſun, which happens during the time of the conjunction, they could in ſome meaſure account for that, for even the ordinary people knew, that the interpoſition of the moon was the occaſion of it: but for the eclipſe of the moon, they knew not by the interpoſition of what body it happened, nor how it could come to paſs, that being at the full, it ſhould all on a ſudden be darkened, and aſſume ſuch a variety of colours. They conſidered this appearance, therefore, as ſomething ſupernatural, and the forerunner of ſome grievous calamities, with which the gods threatened mankind.

Anaxagoras was the firſt, who with great perſpicuity and certainty, ſhowed how the moon came to be illuminated and overſhadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity *, nor were his writings much known; for they were in the hands only of a few, who did not communicate them but to perſons in whom they could confide, and that with much ſecrecy and precaution. For the people had an averſion to natural philoſophers †, and ſuch as were then called *meteoroleſchæ*, that is, *thoſe who diſcourſe upon meteors*, ſuppoſing that they leſſened the divine power, by deducing things from natural undeſigning cauſes and an inevitable neceſſity.

Protagoras was baniſhed Athens for maintaining this doctrine; and Anaxagoras was thrown into priſon, out of which Pericles was forced to make uſe of all his intereſt and authority to releaſe him; and even Socrates, though he meddled not at all with that ſort of learning, yet was put to

* He was at that time ſo far from being an author of any antiquity, that he flouriſhed in the days of Pericles, and was contemporary with Nicias, who was killed fifteen years after the death of Anaxagoras, and this is the reaſon that the works of that philoſopher were not then much known.

† This appears from the works of Plato, and from the death of Socrates, who had been accuſed of ſearching with a criminal curioſity into what was doing in the heavens, and penetrating into the abyſſes of the earth; as Socrates himſelf relates in his apology.

death

death on account of his philoſophy. At length, his diſciple Plato, whoſe doctrine gained great authority from his exemplary life, and from his ſubmitting natural neceſſity to a divine principle, wiped off the obloquy and reproach which had been caſt upon thoſe contemplations, and brought the ſtudy of the mathematics into reputation. Wherefore, his friend Dion, though an eclipſe of the moon happened juſt at the time when he was ready to ſail from Zacynthus againſt Dionyſius, yet was not at all diſmayed at it, but proceeding on his voyage, landed in Sicily, and expelled the tyrant.

But Nicias was ſo unfortunate in this conjuncture, as to have no diviner with him of experience and ability; Stilbides, who attended him into Sicily, and had much weaned him from his ſuperſtition, happening to die ſome time before. For an eclipſe of the moon, as Philochorus has obſerved, could not be ominous to thoſe who were flying, but on the contrary favourable; for thoſe things which we do with fear, ſtand in need of darkneſs to conceal them, the light in that caſe being a moſt formidable enemy. Beſides, it never was uſual after an eclipſe of the ſun or moon to obſerve thoſe luminaries, and abſtain from action for above three days together, as Anticlides has obſerved in his commentaries: whereas Nicias was for waiting another entire revolution of the moon *, as if he could not perceive her as clear and bright as ever, the moment ſhe paſſed the ſhadow occaſioned by the interpoſition of the earth. Wherefore in a ſuperſtitious manner abandoning almoſt all other cares, he employed himſelf in ſacrificing; till the enemy came upon him, and with their land-forces attacked his camp, and ranged their fleet in a circle round the harbour. Nor did the men only from their galleys inſult him, but even the fiſher-boys in ſkiffs and

* Thucydides ſays he was for waiting *three times nine days* by the direction of his diviners.

boats

boats rowed up to the ſhips of the Athenians, challenging them to fight, and loading them with the moſt contemptuous language.

One of theſe youths of noble parentage called *Heraclides*, advancing too far, had like to have been taken by one of the Athenian galleys that chaſed him. His uncle Pollichus being in great pain for him, went to his aſſiſtance with ten galleys, which were under his command. Thoſe in the other galleys, being as much concerned for him as he was for his nephew, advanced to ſupport him. This brought on a general engagement, which was very ſharp and obſtinate; but, in the end, the Syracuſans had the advantage, and the Athenians loſt a great number of men, among whom was Eurymedon.

Hereupon the Athenian ſoldiers had no patience to ſtay longer, but mutinied againſt their officers, requiring them to depart by land; for the Syracuſans had immediately upon their victory blocked up the entrance of the harbour. But Nicias could not be brought to conſent to this; for he thought it a ſhameful thing to leave ſo many ſhips of burden, and near two hundred galleys, as a prey to the enemy. Wherefore cauſing the flower of his infantry and the ableſt of thoſe who fought with javelins to embark, he manned a hundred and ten galleys, for the reſt wanted oars. The remainder of his army he poſted along the ſea-ſide, abandoning his camp, and the walls which extended as far as the temple of Hercules. Wherefore the Syracuſans, who had it not in their power for ſome time before to perform their uſual ſacrifices to that god, immediately ſent thither their prieſts and generals, to acquit themſelves of that duty.

When the troops were embarked, the diviners aſſured the Syracuſans from the entrails of their victims, that glory and conqueſt attended them, provided they were not the aggreſſors, but kept upon

upon the defenſive; for Hercules himſelf, they ſaid, accompliſhed his labours, and obtained his victories by keeping upon the defenſive, and repelling the violence that was offered him. Thus encouraged, they rowed towards the enemy. This battle proved more obſtinate and bloody than any of the former, and raiſed no leſs concern and paſſion in the two armies who beheld it from the ſhore, than in thoſe who were actually engaged in it; for they had a diſtinct view of the whole fight, which was confined to a narrow ſpace, and the turns were many and unexpected. The Athenians ſuffered no leſs from their own fleet than from the enemy. For their ſhips were all crouded together, and were beſides heavy and unwieldy, while thoſe of the enemy were light and nimble, ſo that they could eaſily change their ſituation, and attack the Athenians on all ſides. They were aſſaulted with a ſhower of ſtones, which never failed to hit them from whatever part they were diſcharged; this they anſwered only with darts, and arrows, the flight of which was diverted by the working of the ſhip, ſo that few of them could reach the mark at which they were levelled. Herein the enemy followed the advice of Ariſton the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell in the very inſtant when victory was declaring for the Syracuſans.

After this great defeat, and the loſs of ſo many Athenians, their flight was cut off by ſea, and their ſafety by land very uncertain. The ſenſe of this threw them into ſuch a deſpondency, that they never offered to repel the enemy when they approached to tow off their galleys; they did not ſo much as demand their dead, thinking their want of burial a leſs calamity, than the leaving their ſick and wounded behind them. All this they had before their eyes, but they found themſelves in a ſtill more deplorable condition. They ſaw they could

not avoid the ſame fate, and that it would come upon them after they had ſuffered many more diſtreſſes.

As the Athenians were preparing to take the benefit of the night, and retire by land, Gylippus obſerving the Syracuſans employed in ſacrificing and drinking, on account of the victory, and becauſe the feſtival of Hercules happened on that very day, concluded that it was not in his power either to perſuade or force them to take arms, and fall upon the Athenians as they were drawing off. Whilſt he was under this perplexity, Hermocrates * contrived the following ſtratagem. He ſent ſome perſons in whom he could confide to Nicias, who told him *they came from thoſe friends of his, with whom he had held a ſecret correſpondence during the whole courſe of the war, and that they were ordered to caution him againſt making any motions that night, becauſe the Syracuſans lay in ambuſh for him, and had beſet all the ways.* Nicias being caught by this ſtratagem, remained in his camp, and through this falſe apprehenſion of danger expoſed himſelf to that deſtruction which he was endeavouring to avoid; for early the next morning the enemy ſecured all the difficult paſſes, fortified thoſe places of the rivers which were fordable, broke down the bridges, and poſted parties of horſe in the flat part of the country, ſo that it was impoſſible for the Athenians to ſtir without fighting. They remained that day and the night following in their former ſituation, and when they began to move, they filled the air with loud outcries and lamentations, as if they were not quitting an enemy's country, but their native habitations, ſo much were they afflicted not only on account of the

* He was ſenſible of what conſequence it would be to prevent Nicias from retiring by land at the head of ſuch an army as he ſtill had under his command; for it conſiſted, after all his loſſes, of near forty thouſand men. If ſuch a body ſhould ſettle, and fortify themſelves in any corner of Sicily, they might have proved very formidable to the Syracuſans.

preſſing

preſſing want to which they were reduced, but for the ſake of their friends and companions, who through ſickneſs, or the wounds they had received, were not able to follow them, and were therefore neceſſarily to be left behind. And yet, even in this deplorable ſtate, they deemed their preſent ſufferings much lighter than thoſe they expected.

But of all the melancholy objects with which the camp abounded, that which moſt excited compaſſion, was Nicias himſelf, labouring under his diſtemper, undeſervedly reduced to the laſt extremities, and in want of things the moſt neceſſary at a time when his age and infirmities required peculiar care and indulgence. And yet, notwithſtanding his great weakneſs, he underwent with courage and patience what many in a perfect ſtate of health would think inſupportable; and it was very obvious that it was not for his own ſake, or out of any fondneſs of life, that he bore up under ſuch a burden, but that, for the ſake of thoſe under his command, he endeavoured to keep hope alive. And whilſt the reſt wept and lamented, and abandoned themſelves to grief and deſpair, if at any time he was forced to drop a tear, it was manifeſt that the cauſe of it was the reflection on the ignominy and diſhonour which was the conſequence of an expedition from which he had promiſed himſelf ſo much glory and renown.

But if the ſight of his preſent calamities moved compaſſion, that compaſſion was infinitely augmented when they called to mind his many ſpeeches and remonſtrances at Athens, to diſſuade the Athenians from that undertaking. This conſideration convinced them ſtill more that he was a guiltleſs ſufferer. All hope and confidence in the gods vaniſhed, when they beheld a perſon remarkable for his piety, and who had often performed ſuch magnificent acts of devotion, as ſeverely treated by fortune as the moſt profligate wretch in the army.

Nicias however endeavoured all the while, by his voice, his countenance, and mild behaviour, to ſhow that he did not ſink under his misfortunes. During a march of eight days together, though he was haraſſed, attacked, and wounded by the enemy, yet he preſerved the body under his command entire; till Demoſthenes, who followed in the rear, was taken priſoner with all his party. They were ſurrounded by the enemy in a ſmall village called *Polyzelia*, where he defended himſelf for ſome time with great courage and reſolution; but when he found it to no purpoſe, he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword, though the wound did not prove mortal, as the enemy immediately ruſhed in upon him, and ſeized him.

Some of the Syracuſan cavalry came up, and acquainted Nicias with this terrible diſaſter. Upon this he ſent ſome of his own horſe for a more perfect information; when they were returned, and he was convinced of the truth, then he ſent to demand a truce of Gylippus, and propoſed, that the Athenians might be ſuffered to depart in ſafety out of Sicily, and that hoſtages ſhould be given for paying to the Syracuſans all the charges they had been at during the war. The Syracuſans rejected the propoſition with great diſdain and inſolence, accompanied their refuſal with ſcoffs and menaces, and then renewed the charge.

Though Nicias was deſtitute of all conveniencies and neceſſaries, and was conſtantly expoſed to the enemy's weapons, yet he made good his retreat all that night, and the next day arrived at the river Aſinarus. There the Syracuſans coming up to him, forced many of the Athenians headlong into the ſtream, whither others ready to die with thirſt had impatiently flung themſelves before, who were inhumanly maſſacred whilſt they were drinking. The Syracuſans continued the ſlaughter, till Nicias throwing himſelf at the knees of Gylippus ſaid,

ſaid, *In the midſt of victory, O Gylippus, ſuffer yourſelf to be touched with pity, not of me, whom an exceſs of miſery has made famous, but of theſe unhappy Athenians. Conſider how uncertain the fortune of war is, and do not forget that the Athenians, whenever they ſucceeded againſt the Lacedæmonians, always uſed their victories with moderation and generoſity.*

Gylippus was ſtruck at the ſight of Nicias, and at what he had ſpoken, and felt ſome ſentiments of compaſſion. He remembered that Nicias had done the Lacedæmonians many good offices in the late treaty; beſides, he thought nothing could contribute more to his glory, than to have two of the enemy's generals his priſoners. He therefore raiſed up Nicias, comforted him, and gave orders to ſpare the Athenians that were remaining; but the word of command being communicated ſlowly, the ſlain were much more in number than the priſoners, though the ſoldiers had ſecreted ſeveral unknown to their officers.

After they had brought together all the priſoners that they could find, they adorned the talleſt and moſt beautiful trees on the banks of the river, with the arms of the captives. Then crowning themſelves with garlands, dreſſing their own horſes in their fineſt furniture, and cropping thoſe of the enemy, they returned to the city, where they made a triumphant entry, having put a glorious end to a war, the moſt deſperate of any that had ever been carried on by Greeks againſt Greeks, and obtained by their valour and reſolution a moſt ſignal and complete victory.

As ſoon as they had made their entry, a general aſſembly was called of all the Syracuſans and their confederates, in which Eurycles * the orator propoſed the following decree: *That the day on which Nicias was taken ſhould be obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival, at which they ſhould reſt from all manner of work, and*

* Diodorus Siculus calls him *Diocles.*

offer up ſacrifices, and that the feaſt ſhould be called Aſinaria, *from the name of the river where he ſurrendered.* This was the twenty-ſeventh day of the month Carneus, called by the Athenians, *Metagitnion* [*Auguſt*]. He propoſed beſides, *that the ſervants of the Athenians, and all their allies ſhould be ſold at public auction: that the Athenians themſelves, and as many Sicilians as had embraced their party, ſhould be ſent priſoners to the quarries, except the two generals, who were immediately to be put to death.*

While this decree was paſſing, Hermocrates ſtood up, and ſaid, *That victory well uſed was more glorious than victory itſelf*; but theſe words were received with a general uproar in the aſſembly; and when Gylippus required the two generals to be delivered up to him, to be carried by him to Sparta, the Syracuſans, puffed up with their good fortune, treated him with great inſolence and contempt. They had before this been diſguſted at him for his haughtineſs and laconic auſterity. And Timæus ſays that they were offended at his ſordid avarice, which vice he inherited from his father Cleandrides, who had been convicted of bribery and baniſhed; and Gylippus himſelf having afterwards embezzled thirty talents of the thouſand which Lyſander had ſent by him to Sparta, and hid them under the tiles of his houſe, was forced to fly his country with ignominy, as we have more fully related in the life of Lyſander. Timæus does not ſay, that Demoſthenes and Nicias were put to death by order of the Syracuſans, as Thucydides and Philiſthus write, but that before the aſſembly was broke up, Hermocrates ſent to inform them of what was paſſing by one of his confidents, who was admitted to them by the guards, and that upon his information they ſlew themſelves. Their bodies were thrown out, and lay a long time at the priſon-door, to be viewed by every one that pleaſed. I have been told, that, even at this day, there is ſhown

in

in the temple of Syracuſe a ſhield, which they ſay was that of Nicias, curiouſly wrought, and covered with gold and purple.

Of the other Athenian priſoners the greateſt part periſhed in the quarries, by diſeaſes and bad diet, for they were allowed but a pint of barley a-day, and half a pint of water *. Many of thoſe who had been ſecreted by the ſoldiers, or had eſcaped under the character of ſervants, were ſold for ſlaves, having the figure of a horſe imprinted on their foreheads. Theſe laſt, who, beſide the miſeries of bondage, had ſuffered that brand, gained much by their modeſty and patience, ſo that they were either ſoon reſtored to their liberty, or if they continued with their maſters, were treated with great tenderneſs and reſpect. Several amongſt them were ſaved for the ſake of Euripides; for his muſe was more eſteemed in Sicily than in any other of the Grecian colonies. And when any travellers arrived, that could preſent the Sicilians with a copy of his verſes, they got them by heart, and with great delight repeated them to one another. It is ſaid that many of thoſe who were preſerved, after they got home, went and made their acknowledgments to Euripides, ſome of them telling him, *that they had been releaſed out of ſlavery for having taught their maſters ſuch paſſages as they could remember out of his writings*; others, *that when they were wandering up and down after the fight, they were relieved with meat and drink for repeating ſome of his verſes.* Nor is this to be wondered at; for it is reported, that when a ſhip belonging to the town of Caunus, being chaſed by pirates, came to a port of Sicily, the Sicilians refuſed to admit them at firſt, and would

* They were in ſtrait places, where they lay expoſed to the air for eight months crouded together, burnt up at firſt by the heat, and afterwards catching cold upon it during the cold nights in autumn, poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, or of the bodies of thoſe among them who died of their wounds or of ſickneſs, and periſhing through hunger and thirſt.

have

have forced them out to ſea; but when one of them aſked thoſe aboard if they could repeat any of the verſes of Euripides, and they replied that they could, they then received them into the harbour.

It is ſaid, that the Athenians would not at firſt give any credit to the report of this overthrow, and chiefly for the ſake of the reporter. For an unknown perſon landing at the Piræus, and ſtopping at a barber's ſhop, began to diſcourſe of the affairs in Sicily, as if the Athenians had already been informed of what had lately paſſed in that iſland. The barber hearing it, without ſtaying till the ſtranger had related it to others, ran immediately into the city, where meeting with the archons, he told them the news publicly, juſt as he had heard it. The whole city was ſoon ſeized with great trouble and confuſion. The archons called an aſſembly of the people, and produced the barber. They immediately aſked him who was his author; and when he could not give them any ſatisfactory account of the matter, he was taken for a ſpreader of falſe news, and one who ſought to inflame the minds of the people. Upon this they faſtened him to the wheel, where he bore the torture for a good while, till at length ſome credible perſons arrived, who gave them a diſtinct account of the whole diſaſter. So unwilling were the Athenians to believe that Nicias was fallen into thoſe calamities, which he had ſo often foretold them.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCUS CRASSUS.

MArcus Craſſus, whoſe father had borne the office of cenſor, and received the honour of a triumph, was educated in a little houſe together with his two brothers, who both married in their parents lifetime. They kept but one table amongſt them all, which, perhaps, was not the leaſt reaſon of Craſſus's temperance and moderation in diet. One of his brothers dying, he took the widow and children into his houſe. With regard to women he was as temperate as any of the Romans; though, when he was further advanced in years, he was ſuſpected to have been familiar with one of the Veſtal virgins, named *Licinia*, who was tried for the offence, one Plotinus managing the proſecution. This Licinia had a pleaſant country-ſeat; Craſſus being deſirous to purchaſe it at an under-rate, viſited her with great aſſiduity; and this gave occaſion to the ſuſpicion. He was acquitted, his avarice in ſome meaſure clearing him of the charge; however he never left Licinia till he had got her eſtate. The Romans ſay, that the many virtues of Craſſus were darkened by this one vice of avarice; for though he had other vices, yet his avarice being predominant obſcured all the reſt; and this plainly appears from the vaſtneſs of his eſtate, and his manner

manner of raiſing it; for whereas he was not worth above three hundred talents when firſt he made his appearance in the world, yet he amaſſed ſo much whilſt he was in the adminiſtration of affairs, that after he had conſecrated the tenths of all he had to Hercules, and feaſted the people, and given to every citizen corn enough to ſerve him three months, upon caſting up his accounts, before he went upon his Parthian expedition, he found that his eſtate amounted to ſeven thouſand one hundred talents, moſt of which, if we muſt ſpeak the truth, though to his reproach, he got by fire and blood, making his advantage of the public calamities. For when Sylla ſeized the city, and expoſed to ſale the goods of thoſe he had cauſed to be ſlain, accounting and calling them his property as the ſpoils of a conquered enemy, and being willing to make as many of the moſt conſiderable citizens as he could partakers in his guilt, Craſſus never refuſed to accept, or give money for them. Obſerving alſo how extremely ſubject the city was to fire, and how frequently houſes fell down, which calamities were occaſioned by the height of the buildings and their ſtanding ſo near together *, he bought ſlaves that were builders and architects; and when he had got upwards of five hundred, he bought houſes whilſt they were on fire, and others in the neighbourhood, which, by reaſon of the preſent danger and uncertainty, the proprietors were willing to part with for a ſmall price; ſo that the greateſt part of Rome came into his hands. Yet though he had ſo many workmen, he never built any thing but his own houſe; *becauſe*, ſaid he, *they who are addicted to building will undo themſelves ſoon enough without the help of other enemies.* But though he had many ſilver mines, and a great eſtate in land, and labourers to work in it, yet all this was

* The ſtreets were exceedingly narrow and crooked, and built chiefly with timber, after the Gauls had burnt the city.

nothing

nothing in compariſon of the profit which he made by his ſervants; ſuch a number had he of excellent readers, amanuenſes, bankers, ſtewards, and cooks. He always attended to inſpect and teach them himſelf, accounting it the duty of a maſter to examine and inſtruct his ſervants, who are the living organs of œconomy. And he was in the right to think (if he really thought what he often ſaid) that the ſervants ought to look after all other things, and the maſter after them. For œconomy, which when it extends only to things inanimate is no better than lucrative traffic, when men are the ſubject of it, becomes policy. But ſurely he was miſtaken when he ſaid, that *no man was to be accounted rich, who could not maintain an army at his own coſt*; for war, as Archidamus well obſerved, has no certain allowance, the charge of it being indefinite; and he differed much in his opinion from Marius; for when he had diſtributed fourteen acres of land to each ſoldier, and underſtood that ſome deſired more, ſaid, *God forbid, that any Roman ſhould think that too little, which is enough to maintain him.*

Craſſus however was very hoſpitable to ſtrangers, for he kept open houſe; and to his friends he would lend money without intereſt; but as he called it in preciſely at the time when it was due, his kindneſs was ſometimes more hurtful than the paying the intereſt would have been. His entertainments were plain and frugal; but that frugality was attended with ſuch elegance, and with ſuch kindneſs and cheerfulneſs as rendered it more agreeable than magnificence. As for learning, he chiefly applied to rhetoric, and ſuch ſtudies as would beſt qualify him for a popular ſpeaker; thus he became one of the moſt conſiderable orators in Rome: but in induſtry he ſurpaſſed even thoſe of the greateſt genius; for there was no cauſe, how mean and contemptible ſoever, to which he came unprepared; nay, he often undertook a cauſe, when

Pompey,

Pompey, and Cæſar, and Tully himſelf refuſed to ſtand up; upon which account particularly, he got the love of the people, who looked upon him as a laborious active man, and one who was always ready to do them ſervice. Beſides, they were pleaſed with his courteous and obliging behaviour; for he never met any citizen, however mean and poor, but he returned him his ſalutation by name. He was eſteemed to be well acquainted with hiſtory, and to have acquired ſome knowledge of Ariſtotle's philoſophy, which he learned from one Alexander, whoſe commerce with Craſſus was a ſufficient argument of his good nature and diſintereſtedneſs. For it is hard to ſay, whether he was poorer when he entered into his ſervice, or when he left it, after having lived a long time in great familiarity with him. He was the only friend Craſſus took with him into the country; on which occaſions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. Such was the patience of this Alexander, which was the more extraordinary ſince the philoſophy he profeſſed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent *. But this happened afterwards.

Whea Cinna and Marius had got the power in their hands, it was ſoon perceived that they came not intending any good to their country, but with a deſign to ruin and extirpate the nobility; for they ſlew as many as they could lay their hands on, amongſt whom was Craſſus's father and brother. As for himſelf, being very young, for the preſent he eſcaped the danger; but when he underſtood that he was every way beſet, and hunted after by the tyrants, taking with him three friends and ten ſervants, with all poſſible ſpeed he fled into Spain, where he had formerly contracted a great acquain-

* For Ariſtotle's philoſophy, as well as that of Plato, conſidered wealth as a deſirable bleſſing, and looked on poverty as an obſtacle to the exerciſe of virtue.

tance,

tance, while his father was prætor in that country. But finding that all the people were in a conſternation, and dreaded the cruelty of Marius, as if he was already at their doors, he durſt not diſcover himſelf to any one, but lay hid in a ſpacious cave, near the ſea-ſhore, belonging to Vibius Pacianus, to whom he ſent one of his ſervants to ſound him; for among his other neceſſities he began to be in want of proviſions. Vibius was well pleaſed at his eſcape, and inquiring of the ſervant the place of his abode, and the number of his companions, he went not to him himſelf for fear of ſuſpicion, but commanded his ſteward to provide every day a certain quantity of victuals, and carry it to the entrance of the cave, and then to return without taking any further notice, or making any inquiry, promiſing him his liberty if he faithfully obeyed him, and threatening to kill him if he was inquiſitive. The cave is not far from the ſea, and is made by the cloſing together of ſome cliffs, through the chinks of which enters a gentle and refreſhing air. When you are entered, you find a roof of a vaſt height, and a great many very large caverns one within another; neither is it void of water or light, for a very pleaſant and wholeſome ſpring runs through the cliffs, and the natural chinks let in the light all day long; and by reaſon of the thickneſs of the rock, the air within is pure and clear, that which is foggy and unhealthful being carried away with the ſtream. While Craſſus remained here, the ſteward brought them what was neceſſary, but never ſaw them, nor knew any thing of the matter, though they within, expecting him at the cuſtomary times, watched his coming, and ſaw him every day. Neither was their entertainment ſuch as juſt to keep them alive, but was very plentiful and delicious; for Pacianus reſolved to treat Craſſus with all imaginable civility. And conſidering that he was a young man, he reſolved to gratify in ſome meaſure

his youthful inclinations; for to give juſt what is needful, ſeems rather the effect of force and conſtraint than of friendſhip. Taking with him therefore two handſome female ſlaves, he ſhowed them the place, and bid them go in boldly, aſſuring them they were in no danger. When Craſſus and his friends ſaw them, they concluded they were betrayed; wherefore demanding what they were, and what they would have, they, according as they were inſtructed, anſwered, *They came to wait upon their maſter, who lay concealed in that cave.* Then Craſſus perceiving it to be a piece of gallantry in Vibius in order to divert him, took the damſels, and kept them with him as long as he ſtaid. They gave an account to Vibius from time to time of what Craſſus wanted. One of theſe women, though ſhe was then very old, Feneſtella * ſays, he had ſeen, and often heard her tell the ſtory.

Craſſus lay concealed there eight months; but as ſoon as he underſtood that Cinna was dead, he made no ſcruple of appearing publicly. Immediately a great number of people reſorted to him, out of whom he ſelected two thouſand five hundred, and with them viſited the cities that lay in his way; and many write, that he ſacked the town of Malaca, though he ever obſtinately denied it. Hence getting together ſome ſhips, he paſſed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, a man of great eminence, who had raiſed a very conſiderable army; but ſome difference happening between him and Metellus, he ſtaid not long there, but went over to Sylla, by whom he was very much eſteemed. When Sylla paſſed over into Italy, he kept all the young noblemen that were with him in employment; ſome he diſpatched one way, and ſome another; and Craſ-

* Feneſtella was an hiſtorian who wrote ſeveral books of Annals, and might very well have ſeen one of thoſe ſlaves when ſhe was old, for he did not die till the ſixth year of the reign of Tiberius, when he was ſeventy years old.

ſus

ſus among the reſt was ordered to go and levy troops in the country of the Marſians. Being to paſs through the enemies quarters, he demanded a guard of Sylla. Sylla replied in an angry tone, *The guard I appoint thee is thy father, thy brother, thy friends and relations, all murdered contrary to law; which cruelty and injuſtice I am now revenging upon the murderers.*

Craſſus rouſed by theſe words, and inflamed with reſentment and revenge, broke boldly through the enemy, raiſed a very conſiderable force, and ever after behaved as one zealouſly affected to Sylla's intereſt in times of the greateſt difficulty and danger. From hence, they ſay, firſt began the emulation for glory between him and Pompey; for though Pompey was the younger man, and had the diſadvantage to be deſcended of a father who was extremely deſpiſed and hated by the citizens, yet in theſe wars he appeared ſo great and illuſtrious, that Sylla uſed him with ſuch particular honour and reſpect, as he ſeldom ſhowed even to officers who were his ſeniors, and of equal rank with himſelf; for he always ſtood up when he approached, uncovered his head, and ſaluted him with the title of *Imperator*. This fired and provoked Craſſus, though indeed Pompey was juſtly to be preferred to him; for Craſſus not only wanted the experience of Pompey, but his innate vices, ſordid avarice, and an inſatiable thirſt after gain, tarniſhed all the luſtre of his actions. For when he had taken Tuder, a town of the Umbrians, he was ſuſpected to have converted all the ſpoil to his own uſe, for which he was complained of to Sylla. But in the laſt and greateſt battle before Rome itſelf, where Sylla was worſted, ſome of his battalions giving ground, and others being quite broken, Craſſus, who had the command of the right wing, got the victory on that ſide, and purſued the enemy till it was night; and then he ſent to Sylla to acquaint him with his ſucceſs, and demand proviſion for

his ſoldiers. He loſt his credit moſt of all in the proſcriptions and ſequeſtrations; for either he made great purchaſes for very little money, or got conſiderable eſtates conveyed over to him by way of gift. Nay, they ſay he proſcribed one of the Brutians without Sylla's order, purely for his own profit; wherefore Sylla never after truſted him in any public affairs. As no man was more cunning than Craſſus to enſnare others by flattery, ſo no man lay more open to it, or ſwallowed it more greedily than himſelf. And this peculiarity was obſerved in him, that though he was the moſt covetous and rapacious of all men, yet he ever hated and railed at thoſe who were of the ſame diſpoſition. It troubled him to ſee Pompey ſo ſucceſsful in all his undertakings; for before he had obtained a place in the ſenate, he had been honoured with a triumph, and had acquired the ſurname of *Great* from the people. One day when ſome body ſaid, *Pompey the Great was coming*, Craſſus ſmiled and aſked him, *Why, how big is he?* Deſpairing therefore to equal him by feats of arms, he betook himſelf to civil affairs; and by doing kindneſſes, pleading, lending money, and uſing his intereſt for thoſe that ſtood for offices, he arrived at as great honour and power, as Pompey had obtained from his many famous expeditions. But there was this remarkable difference between them; Pompey's fame and intereſt in the city was greateſt when he was abſent, becauſe of the important expeditions in which he was engaged; but when preſent he was often leſs eſteemed than Craſſus, by reaſon of his ſuperciliouſneſs and haughty way of living; for he ſhunned mean company, appeared rarely in the forum, and aſſiſted only ſome few perſons, and that not readily, that his intereſt might be the ſtronger when he came to uſe it for himſelf; whereas Craſſus being a friend always at hand, ready and eaſy of acceſs, and conſtantly employed in buſineſs, by his affability

lity and courteſy got the better of Pompey's formality. As for dignity of perſon, power of perſuaſion, and gracefulneſs of countenance, they were equally excellent. However this emulation never tranſported Craſſus ſo far as to produce any hatred or animoſity againſt Pompey. It is true it vexed him to ſee Pompey and Cæſar more reſpected than himſelf, yet this ambitious jealouſy was free from all unkindneſs and malice; though Cæſar, when he was taken captive by the pirates in Aſia, cried out, *O Craſſus, how wilt thou rejoice at my captivity!* But, notwithſtanding this, they afterwards lived in a friendly manner together; ſo that when Cæſar was going prætor into Spain, and wanted money to ſatisfy his creditors who fell upon him, and ſeized his equipage, Craſſus then aſſiſted him, and was his bail for eight hundred and thirty talents. When the city of Rome came to be divided into three factions, of which Pompey, Cæſar, and Craſſus, were the leaders, (for as for Cato, his fame was greater than his power, he being rather admired than courted), the ſober and moderate citizens were for Pompey; the bold and impetuous followed Cæſar's ambition; but Craſſus ſteering betwen the two parties, made his advantage of both, and cauſed a great alteration in the government; for he was neither a firm friend nor implacable enemy, but eaſily angered or appeaſed according as he found it for his intereſt; and within a ſmall ſpace of time he would defend and oppoſe the ſame laws and the ſame men. But though he was much beloved, he was more feared; ſo that Sicinius, who of all men gave the moſt trouble and vexation to the magiſtrates and orators of his time, being aſked how he came to let Craſſus alone, replied, *He carries hay on his horns* *; alluding to the cuſtom of tying hay to

* This ſaying of Sicinius became afterwards a proverb to denote a dangerous perſon, and is very aptly made uſe of by Horace, *Sat.* iv. *lib.* 1. where ſpeaking of ſatiric poets, he ſays,

Fœnum habet in cornu, longe fuge.

the horns of a bull that was miſchievous, that people might avoid him.

The inſurrection of the gladiators, and the deſolation of Italy, which many call the war of Spartacus, began upon this occaſion. One Lentulus Batiatus trained up a great many gladiators in Capua, many of whom were Gauls and Thracians. The greateſt part of them were forced into this employment, not on account of any fault they had committed, but merely by the injuſtice and cruelty of their maſter. Two hundred of them therefore conſulted how to eſcape; but their plot being diſcovered, they who had the firſt intimation of it, being ſeventy-eight in number, ſeized on ſome knives and ſpits in a cook's ſhop, and made their way through the city. As they paſſed on, they met with ſeveral waggons, that were carrying gladiators arms to another town; theſe they ſeized upon and armed themſelves; and having ſecured an advantageous poſt, they made choice of three of their comrades to be their leaders, of whom Spartacus was chief, a Thracian ſhepherd, a man not only of great ſtrength and high ſpirit, but of more underſtanding than could be expected from one of his condition, and more civilized than the people of that country uſually are. When he firſt came to be ſold at Rome, they ſay a ſnake twined about his face as he lay aſleep; and his wife, who was of the ſame country, a propheteſs by profeſſion, and particularly inſpired by Bacchus, into whoſe orgies ſhe had been initiated, declared that this ſign portended that her huſband would one day be poſſeſſed of very great and formidable power, the event of which would be glorious. This woman was with him now, and attended him in his flight. Their firſt exploit was the defeat of ſome troops, that were ſent out of Capua to quell them; and having ſeized upon a great quantity of the arms of their enemies, which were ſuch as were proper for ſoldiers,

diers, they gladly threw away their own as barbarous and diſhonourable. Afterwards Clodius the prætor was ſent againſt them with a party of three thouſand men, who beſieged them in a mountain, which had but one narrow and difficult paſſage; this Clodius kept guarded; all the reſt of the mountain was encompaſſed with broken and ſlippery precipices. But upon the top there grew a great many wild vines; having therefore cut off as many of the boughs as were fit for their purpoſe, and twiſted them into ladders long enough to reach from thence to the bottom, they without any danger got down all but one, who ſtaid behind only to throw them down their arms; after which he ſaved himſelf with the reſt. The Romans were ignorant of all this; wherefore the ſlaves coming upon their backs, aſſaulted them unawares, put them to flight, and took their camp. After this ſeveral ſhepherds and herdſmen that were in thoſe parts, all ſtout and nimble men, went and joined them. Some of theſe they armed completely, others they made uſe of as ſcouts and light-armed ſoldiers. The ſecond general ſent againſt them, was Publius Varinus, whoſe lieutenant Furius attacked them with two thouſand men, but was defeated. Then Coſſinius, colleague to Varinus, was ſent with a conſiderable force. Spartacus had like to have taken him priſoner as he was bathing at Salenæ, from whence with great difficulty he made his eſcape; Spartacus however poſſeſſed himſelf of his baggage, and continuing the purſuit, ſtormed his camp with great ſlaughter of the Romans, among whom Coſſinius himſelf was ſlain. In ſhort, having defeated the general himſelf in ſeveral engagements, and taken his horſe and his lictors priſoners, he now was grown very great and formidable. However wiſely conſidering, that he could not expect to match the whole force of the Romans, he marched his army towards the Alps, intending when he had paſſed

thoſe

thoſe mountains, that every man ſhould make the beſt of his way into his own country, ſome into Gaul, and the reſt into Thrace. But they relying on their numbers, and being elated with ſucceſs, would not obey him, but plundered and ravaged Italy; ſo that now the ſenate was not only moved at the indignity and baſeneſs of this inſurrection, but began to look upon it as of dangerous conſequence; and both the conſuls were employed as in a war of the greateſt difficulty and importance. Gellius, one of the conſuls, having ſurpriſed a party of Germans, who through contempt and confidence were ſtraggled from Spartacus, fell upon them on a ſudden, and cut them all to pieces. But when Lentulus with a great army had overtaken Spartacus, and in a manner beſieged him, he ſallied out, and joining battle, defeated his lieutenants, and made himſelf maſter of all the baggage. As he was continuing his march towards the Alps, Caſſius the prætor of that part of Gaul that lies about the Po, met him with ten thouſand men; but he too was defeated, and it was with great difficulty that he eſcaped himſelf after he had loſt a great many of his men. When the ſenate underſtood this, they were diſpleaſed at the conſuls, and ordering them to meddle no farther, gave the command to Craſſus. Many of the nobility went volunteers under him, ſome out of friendſhip, and others out of reſpect to his great reputation. Craſſus marched, and encamped in the territory of Picenum, where he waited for Spartacus, who was to paſs that way. Whilſt he lay there encamped, he detached Mummius his lieutenant with two legions to take a large circuit, and come behind the enemy, but upon no account to engage or ſkirmiſh with them. But Mummius upon the firſt occaſion that flattered him with the leaſt hope of ſucceſs, gave Spartacus battle, and was defeated. Many of his men fell in the action, and many of thoſe that ſaved themſelves left

left their arms behind them. Craſſus reprimanded Mummius ſeverely; and giving the ſoldiers new arms, he made them find ſureties for their keeping them better than they had done the former. But five hundred that were the beginners of the flight, he divided into fifty parts, and put to death one out of each, as it was determined by lot. Thus he revived the ancient puniſhment of decimation, which had been in diſuſe for a long time. This kind of puniſhment is accompanied with the greateſt ignominy; and it is inflicted in the preſence of the whole army, over which it ſpreads a dread and horror.

When Craſſus had thus chaſtiſed his ſoldiers, he led them againſt the enemy. But Spartacus retreated through Lucania, towards the ſea-coaſt, where he met with ſome Cilician pirates, and bargained with them to tranſport him into Sicily, where at the head of two thouſand men, he thought he could not fail of rekindling the war of the ſlaves, which was but lately extinguiſhed, and ſeemed to want but little fuel to raiſe the ſame flame again *. But after the pirates had made the bargain with him, and taken his money, they deceived him and ſailed away. He hereupon retired again from the ſea, and pitched his camp in the peninſula of Rhegium. Here Craſſus came upon him, and finding that the very nature of the place prompted him to it, he ſet upon building a wall acroſs the iſthmus; by which he at the ſame time kept his ſoldiers from idleneſs, and cut off the enemies proviſions. This great and difficult undertaking he completed in a ſhort time, beyond all expectation, making a ditch from one ſea to the other, over a neck of land of three hundred furlongs in length; it was fifteen foot in breadth, and as much in depth, and was fenced with a wall exceedingly ſtrong and high. Spartacus at firſt ſlighted

*It was not above eighteen or nineteen years before, that Manlius Aquilius the conſul defeated the ſlaves in Sicily.

his

his work; but when proviſions began to fail, and he found that he was walled in, and no more ſupplies were to be had in the peninſula, he took the opportunity of a ſnowy ſtormy night, and filling up a ſmall part of the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, paſſed over the third part of his army. Craſſus was afraid leſt he ſhould march directly to Rome; but was ſoon eaſed of that fear, when he ſaw many of his men upon a mutiny revolt from him, and encamp by themſelves upon the Lucanian lake. This lake they ſay is very changeable, being ſometimes ſweet, and ſometimes ſo ſalt, that it cannot be drunk. Craſſus falling upon theſe, beat them from the lake; but he could not continue the ſlaughter, becauſe Spartacus coming in at that inſtant, repelled the purſuers, and rallied the fugitives. Craſſus had formerly adviſed the ſenate to recall Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain; but now he began to repent it, and did all he could to finiſh the war before they came, knowing that the honour of the action would redound to him that came firſt to his aſſiſtance. He reſolved therefore to ſet upon thoſe troops that had revolted, and were encamped apart under the command of Caius Cannicius and Caſtus. Accordingly he ſent ſix thouſand men before to ſecure an eminence that commanded the enemy, ordering them to do it as privately as poſſible. Theſe men did all they could to execute their orders, covering their arms to prevent diſcovery. They were however diſcovered by two women that were performing ſacrifices before the camp for the ſucceſs of the enemy; and they would have been in extreme danger, if Craſſus had not come up on a ſudden with his troops, and given the enemy battle. This engagement proved the moſt obſtinate and bloody of any during the whole courſe of that war. For twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy were ſlain upon the ſpot, of which number there were only two that were found wounded in the back;

all

all the reſt died ſtanding in their ranks, and fighting bravely. After this defeat Spartacus retired towards the mountains of Petelia; but Quintus, one of Craſſus's commanders, and Scropha the queſtor, purſued and overtook him; but when Spartacus faced about, the Romans baſely betook themſelves to flight, and with great difficulty carried off their quæſtor who was wounded. This ſucceſs ruined Spartacus, becauſe it encouraged the fugitives, who now diſdained any longer to make a flying fight, nor would they obey their officers; but as they were upon their march, they came to them with their ſwords in their hands, and compelled them to march back again through Lucania, and lead them againſt the Romans. This was what Craſſus deſired with great impatience, for he was told that Pompey was at hand; and indeed the aſſemblies abounded with ſpeakers who openly declared, that the honour of concluding this war was reſerved for him, and that at his firſt appearance he would force the enemy to a battle, and make an end of the whole affair at once. Craſſus therefore deſiring to fight, encamped very near the enemy, and began to dig a trench; but the ſlaves made a ſally, and attacked thoſe who were at work. As freſh ſupplies came in on both ſides, Spartacus ſeeing there was no avoiding an engagement, ranged his whole army in order of battle. When his horſe was brought him, he drew his ſword, and killed him, ſaying, *If I get the day, I ſhall have a great many better horſes of the enemies; and if I loſe it, I ſhall have no need of this.* He then made directly towards Craſſus through ſhowers of darts, and heaps of the ſlain; he indeed miſſed him, but ſlew two centurions that attacked him. At laſt, when all thoſe that had attended him were fled, and he was left alone, hemmed in by his enemies, he bravely ſtood his ground for a long time, and fell at laſt overcome by numbers. But though Craſſus made good uſe of his fortune, and

not

not only acted the part of a general, but even expoſed his perſon, yet Pompey ſhared in the honour of the action, for he met with many that fled and ſlew them; ſo that he wrote to the ſenate, *That Craſſus indeed had vanquiſhed the fugitives in a pitched battle, but that he had plucked up the war by the roots.* Pompey was honoured with a magnificent triumph for his conqueſt over Sertorius in Spain; but Craſſus did not ſo much as deſire a triumph, and it was thought mean in him to accept of an ovation for a ſervile war, and to paſs through the city on foot. The original of the word *ovation*, and the difference betweeen an ovation and a triumph, we have explained in the life of Marcellus.

Upon the merit of theſe great exploits Pompey was immediately named conſul, and though Craſſus had no reaſon to doubt but he ſhould be named with him, yet he did not ſcruple to requeſt his aſſiſtance. Pompey very readily embraced the opportunity, (for he deſired by all means to lay ſome obligation upon Craſſus), and zealouſly aſſiſted him with all his intereſt; and he declared in a full aſſembly of the people, *That he was not leſs obliged to them for his colleague than for his own advancement.* But after they entered upon their office, this amity continued not long; for they differed almoſt in every thing, and were continually claſhing and contending with each other, ſo that the time of their conſulſhip paſſed without any action of conſequence, except that Craſſus made a great ſacrifice to Hercules, and feaſted the people at ten thouſand tables, and meaſured out to them corn for three months. When their office was ready to expire, a Roman knight, one Caius Aurelius, a man who lived a retired country-life, mounted the roſtrum at an aſſembly of the people, and declared a viſion he had in his ſleep. *Jupiter*, ſays he, *appeared to me, and commanded me to tell you, that you ſhould not ſuffer your conſuls to lay down their charge before they were made friends.* When he

he had ſaid this, the people cried out, *that they ſhould be reconciled.* Pompey ſtood ſtill and ſaid nothing, but Craſſus firſt offering him his hand, ſaid, *I cannot think, my countrymen, that I do a mean thing, and unworthy of myſelf, if I make the firſt offers of accommodation and friendſhip with Pompey, whom you yourſelves ſtyled* The Great *before he was of man's eſtate, and to whom you decreed a triumph before he was qualified to ſit in the ſenate.* This is what is memorable in Craſſus's conſulſhip; but as for his cenſorſhip, that was altogether idle and inactive; for he neither made a ſcrutiny of the ſenate, nor took a review of the knights, nor an account of the people, though he had for his colleague Lutatius Catulus, a man of the mildeſt diſpoſition of any of the Romans. It was indeed reported, that when Craſſus intended a violent and unjuſt action, which was the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus ſtrongly oppoſed it, which was the ſource of ſuch a miſunderſtanding between them, that they laid down their office by conſent.

In that great conſpiracy of Catiline, which had almoſt ſubverted the government, Craſſus lay under ſome ſuſpicion; nay, a certain man named him as one of the conſpirators, though nobody credited him. Cicero, however, in one of his orations, openly charges both Craſſus and Cæſar with being concerned in the conſpiracy; but that ſpeech was not publiſhed till they were both dead; and in the ſpeech which he made after his conſulſhip, he declares that Craſſus came to him by night, and brought a letter concerning Catiline, confirming the conſpiracy. However it was, Craſſus was after this a bitter enemy to Cicero, but was hindered by his ſon from doing him any injury; for young Craſſus was very much addicted to learning, and the ſtudy of eloquence, and was a conſtant follower of Cicero, ſo that he put himſelf into mourning when he was baniſhed, and perſuaded the reſt of

the young men to do the ſame; and at laſt he brought about a reconciliation between him and his father.

When Cæſar returned from his province, he was preparing to put up for the conſulſhip; but finding that Craſſus and Pompey were again at variance, he was unwilling to diſoblige one, by making application to the other, though he deſpaired of ſucceſs without the help of one of them; he therefore made it his buſineſs to reconcile them, and continually repreſented to them, *that, by deſtroying each other, they advanced the Cicero's, the Catuli, and the Cato's, who would really be of no account if they would join their forces together; as an union betwen them would enable them to manage the affairs of the empire as they pleaſed.* Theſe remonſtrances of Cæſar reconciled them, and they three eſtabliſhed an irreſiſtible power, which utterly ſubverted the government, and deſtroyed the authority both of the ſenate and people; not that Cæſar made Craſſus and Pompey greater than they were before, but by their means he made himſelf greateſt of all; for by the adherents of both he was declared conſul without oppoſition; and after he had adminiſtered that office with credit, they decreed him the command of the army, and appointed him Gaul for his province, that he being eſtabliſhed in that government which had fallen to his lot, and ſeated there as in his own peculiar fortreſs, they might without any interruption divide the other provinces between them. Pompey was prompted to this by an immoderate deſire of power; but Craſſus added to his old diſeaſe of covetouſneſs an ambition to obtain trophies and triumphs, which paſſion had been excited in him by the late glorious exploits of Cæſar. For though he was ſenſible that he was far ſuperiour to all others in wealth and authority, yet he could not bear to come ſhort of thoſe two in a military reputation; inſomuch that this fatal paſſion never left

left him till it had betrayed him to an ignominious death, and involved his country in unſpeakable calamities. When Cæſar came out of Gaul to Luca, a great many people went thither to meet him, and among the reſt Craſſus and Pompey. They had ſeveral conferences together, wherein they conſulted how to get the whole management of affairs into their own hands; the only way to which was for Cæſar to keep his forces on foot, and for Pompey and Craſſus to get new provinces, and conſequently new armies. This could not be effected but by obtaining the conſulſhip a ſecond time; in which Cæſar undertook to aſſiſt them by writing to his friends in Rome, and by ſending a good number of his ſoldiers to vote for them.

This agreement being ratified between them, Pompey and Craſſus returned to Rome, where their deſign was preſently ſuſpected, and it was univerſally ſaid, that this interview portended no good to the commonwealth. Marcellus and Domitus therefore aſked Pompey in the ſenate, if he intended to ſtand for the conſulſhip; to which he anſwered, *Perhaps he would, perhaps not:* and being urged again, he replied, *He would endeavour to procure it for honeſt men, but not for the diſhoneſt.* Theſe anſwers appearing too haughty and arrogant, Craſſus anſwered more civilly, *He would deſire it, if it might be for the advantage of the public, otherwiſe he would deſiſt.* This anſwer encouraged others to put in their claim, among whom was Domitius. But as ſoon as Craſſus and Pompey declared themſelves candidates, all of them dropped their pretenſions out of fear and reſpect, except Domitus, whom Cato, as his friend and relation, exhorted and encouraged not to give over, repreſenting to him, *That he was engaged in the cauſe of liberty; ſince Craſſus and Pompey did not ſo much aim at the conſulſhip as at arbitrary power, and were not now putting up for an office, but were*

endeavouring to ſeize into their hands provinces and armies.

Theſe were Cato's words and ſentiments, by which he in a manner compelled Domitius to appear in the forum, where he found many ready to join him; for this new ſtep of Craſſus and Pompey very much ſurpriſed the people, who ſaid, *Why ſhould they deſire the conſulſhip a ſecond time, and why they two together, and not with ſome third perſon? Have we not ſeveral Romans worthy to be colleagues with Craſſus and Pompey?* Theſe things made Pompey's party apprehenſive of a diſappointment, ſo that they committed every kind of indecency and violence. Amongſt other things they lay in wait for Domitius, as he was going to the forum before day-break with ſome other company; they killed his torch-bearer, and wounded ſeveral others, of whom Cato was one; and having forced them back, and ſhut them up in a houſe, they kept them priſoners till the election was over. Not long after this they again confined Domitius to his houſe, drove Cato out of the forum, killed ſome that made reſiſtance, decreed Cæſar his command for five years longer, and appointed to themſelves the governments of Syria, and both the Spains, which being decided by lot, Syria fell to Craſſus, and the Spains to Pompey.

This deciſion was not diſagreeable to the multitude, for the people were deſirous that Pompey ſhould not go far from the city; and he being extremely fond of his wife, was very glad that it was in his power to ſpend great part of his time at home. But Craſſus was quite tranſported with his fortune; and it was manifeſt that he thought he had never enjoyed ſuch happineſs before; ſo that he could hardly contain himſelf even when in company and before ſtrangers; but amongſt his intimate friends he uttered many childiſh things, which were unworthy of his age, and contrary to his nature; for he

he never was much given to boaſting in all the reſt of his life; but then being ſtrangely puffed up, and having his imagination heated, he would not limit his fortune with Parthia and Syria, but looking on the actions of Lucullus againſt Tigranes, and the exploits of Pompey againſt Mithridates, as mere trifles, he propoſed to himſelf in his hopes to paſs as far as Bactria and India, and the utmoſt ocean; not that he was obliged by his office to undertake the Parthian war, but it was well known that Craſſus was deſirous of it, and Cæſar wrote to him out of Gaul, commending his reſolution, and inciting him to it. When he was ready to ſet out, Ateius one of the tribunes of the people threatened to ſtop his journey, and many were ready to join with him, for they could not without indignation think of his entering into a war againſt a people, who had never done them any injury, but were in friendſhip and alliance with them. Craſſus being alarmed at this menace, deſired Pompey to ſtand by him and accompany him, for he had a great authority amongſt the people; and when ſeveral were prepared, and reſolved to obſtruct his paſſage, they no ſooner beheld Pompey walking before him with a gay ſerene countenance, but they were inſtantly appeaſed, and opening on each ſide made way for him. But Ateius met him boldly, and firſt by words conjured him not to proceed; then he commanded an officer to ſeize and detain him; but, the other tribunes not permitting it, he was forced to releaſe him. Wherefore Ateius running before to the gate, placed on the ground a pan full of live coals, and as ſoon as Craſſus came he threw perfumes into it, and pouring libations over them, invoked certain ſtrange and terrible deities, and curſed him with moſt dreadful imprecations. It is the opinion of the Romans, that there is ſo much virtue in theſe ſacred and ancient rites, that no man can eſcape the effects of them, and that even he

who uſes them never proſpers; ſo that they are practiſed but by few perſons, and that only upon very important occaſions. Wherefore Ateius was very much blamed for pronouncing his maledictions againſt that very country for the ſake of which he was incenſed againſt Craſſus, and for devoting it by thoſe horrible rites to the avenging deities.

Craſſus, however, proceeded to Brunduſium; and though it was then winter, and the ſea was very tempeſtuous, he had not patience to wait, but went on board, and loſt many of his ſhips in his paſſage. With the remnant of his forces he marched a-foot through Galatia; where, meeting with King Deiotarus, who, though very old, was building a new city, he told him by way of raillery, *You begin to build at the twelfth hour. Neither do you*, replied he laughing, *undertake your Parthian expedition very early in the morning:* for Craſſus was then threeſcore years old, and ſeemed ſtill older than he was. At his firſt coming, things anſwered his expectation; for he made a bridge over the Euphrates without much difficulty, paſſed with his army in ſafety, and became maſter of many cities of Meſopotamia, which yielded themſelves up voluntarily. One only, which was governed by a tyrant called *Apollonius*, had the courage to reſiſt. Craſſus having loſt about a hundred of his ſoldiers there, drew down all his forces againſt it, took it by ſtorm, plundered it, and ſold all the inhabitants. The Greeks call this city *Zenodotia*. Upon the taking of it Craſſus permitted the army to ſalute him *Imperator*; but this proved a great diſgrace to him; for to be ſo elated with a trifling advantage, ſeemed to ſhow a meanneſs of ſpirit, and a deſpair of performing any nobler achievement. After this, he placed ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe as a garriſon in his new conqueſts, and then returned to take up his winter-quarters in Syria. There he was met by his ſon, who had been honoured with

ſeveral

ſeveral military rewards conferred on him by Cæſar, who ſent him to the aſſiſtance of his father with a ſelect body of horſe conſiſting of a thouſand men. Here Craſſus ſeems to have been guilty of the greateſt error of all that he committed, except his having undertaken the expedition itſelf; for whereas he ought to have gone forward and ſeized Babylon and Seleucia, cities that were ever at enmity with the Parthians, he gave the enemy time to provide againſt him. Beſides he ſpent his time in Syria more like a uſurer than a general; for he took no account of the arms, nor did he employ himſelf in reviewing and exerciſing his ſoldiers, but was very exact in computing the revenue of the cities, and ſpent many days in weighing the treaſure that was in the temple of Hierapolis *. He ſent to all the towns and communities a liſt containing the number of ſoldiers they were each of them to levy; and when they were raiſed, upon payment of a ſum of money he diſcharged them; by which he loſt his credit, and made himſelf deſpicable.

The firſt omen he met with of his future misfortunes, was from this very goddeſs of Hierapolis, whom ſome call *Venus*, others *Juno*, others *Nature*, or the cauſe that produces all things out of moiſture, and the inſtructor of mankind in the knowledge of every thing that is good; for as they were coming out of the temple, young Craſſus ſtumbled, and his father fell upon him. When he had drawn his army out of their winter-quarters, ambaſſadors came to him from Arſaces King of Parthia, who in few words delivered their commiſſion to him. They told him, that *if the army was ſent by the people of Rome, the king denounced an eternal and irrecon-*

* About twenty miles from Euphrates, there was a city called *Bambyce*. It was likewiſe named *Edeſſa* and *Hierapolis*, or the holy city, and by the Syrians *Magog*, where the goddeſs called *Atargatis* was worſhipped with great devotion. Lucian mentions this temple in his treatiſe of the goddeſs of Syria, as the richeſt ſpot in the univerſe; for offerings flowed daily into it from all parts.

cileable

cileable war; but if (as he underſtood it was) Craſſus, againſt the conſent of the Romans, had invaded his country purely to ſatisfy his own avarice, then he would be more merciful, and taking pity upon Craſſus's age, would ſend back thoſe ſoldiers whom he looked upon rather as in a priſon, than in a garriſon. Craſſus told them with an arrogant air, that *he would return his anſwer at Seleucia*; at which Vagiſes the chief of them ſmiled, and ſhowing the palm of his hand, ſaid, *Hair will grow here, Craſſus, before thou wilt ſee Seleucia.* They then returned to their king Orodes *, and told him that he muſt prepare for war. Several of the Romans that were in garriſon in Meſopotamia, with great hazard made their eſcape, and told Craſſus *that the danger was worth his concern; becauſe they by experience knew the number of the enemy, and their manner of fighting, when they aſſaulted their towns.* And as it is the cuſtom of people in a fright to make objects ſeem greater than they really are, they added, *that it was impoſſible to eſcape them by flight, and as impoſſible to overtake them when they fled; that they had new ſtrange ſorts of weapons as ſwift as ſight, that pierced whatever they met with, before one could ſee from whom they came; that their cataphracti, or men armed at all points, were ſo provided, that their weapons would pierce through every thing, while their armour was proof againſt all the weapons of their enemies.* This account very much abated the courage and reſolution of the ſoldiers; for till then they thought there was no difference between the Parthians and the Armenians and Cappadocians, who tired Lucullus in following them up and down; they had imagined that the difficulty of the war conſiſted only in the tediouſneſs of the march, and the trouble

* Plutarch here calls the king of Parthia, *Orodes*, whom he had mentioned before under the name of *Arſaces*. Probably *Arſaces* was the common name of the royal family of the Arſacides, and *Orodes* was the proper name of this prince. He was the Son of Phraates the Second, and obtained the crown by the murder of his elder brother Mithridates.

of

of chaſing thoſe that durſt not come to an engagement; ſo that the danger of a battle was beyond their expectation. Therefore ſome of the principal officers, among whom was Caſſius the quæſtor, adviſed Craſſus to proceed no further at preſent, but to take new meaſures for the whole enterpriſe. At the ſame time the ſoothſayers told him in private, that the omens were unlucky, that the ſacrifices were not acceptable, but portended ſome fatal event. This however had no weight with Craſſus, who hearkened to none but thoſe who exhorted him to proceed.

But that which confirmed him moſt in his reſolution, was the arrival of Artabaſes King of Armenia, who came to his aſſiſtance with ſix thouſand horſe, which were ſaid to be only the king's lifeguard, for he promiſed him ten thouſand cavalry beſides armed from head to foot, and thirty thouſand infantry, all to be maintained at his own charge. This prince perſuaded Craſſus to invade Parthia by the way of Armenia, where he himſelf would ſupply his army with forage, and where his paſſage would be more ſecure, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the country, and a continued chain of mountains, which were almoſt unpaſſable to horſe, in which the main ſtrength of the Parthians conſiſted. Craſſus thanked him in the ſtrongeſt manner for his kindneſs and for the ſplendid aſſiſtance he offered him, but ſaid, *he was reſolved to paſs through Meſopotamia, where he had left a great many brave Roman ſoldiers*; whereupon the Armenian took his leave, and returned home.

As Craſſus was paſſing his troops over a bridge, which he had built acroſs the Euphrates, near Zeugma, many dreadful claps of thunder were heard, and the lightning flaſhed in the faces of the ſoldiers; during the ſtorm, a hurricane broke down the bridge, and carried part of it away; two thunderbolts fell upon the very place where the army

my was going to encamp; and one of the general's horſes richly harneſſed, ran away with the groom upon his back, leaped into the river, and was ſeen no more. It is likewiſe ſaid, that when they went to take up the ſtandard of the firſt legion, the eagle turned itſelf backward of its own accord; and that after he had paſſed over his army, as they were diſtributing the proviſions among the ſoldiers, they firſt gave them lentiles and ſalt, which the Romans account ominous, and tokens of mourning, for which reaſon they are offered upon the tombs of the dead. As Craſſus was haranguing his ſoldiers, he let fall an expreſſion which ſtruck a great terrour into the army; for he ſaid, *I will break down the bridge, that none of you may return*; and though when he perceived the ill effect that inconſiderate expreſſion had produced among the ſoldiers, he ought to have corrected or explained it, yet this out of mere obſtinacy he neglected. And laſt of all, when the uſual ſacrifice was performed for purifying the army, and the prieſt preſented him with the entrails, he let them ſlip out of his hand; and when he ſaw the ſtanders-by concerned at it, he laughed and ſaid, *See what it is to be an old man; but I'll hold my ſword faſt enough.*

At the ſame time he began his march along the Euphrates with ſeven legions, almoſt four thouſand horſe, and as many light-armed ſoldiers. He had not been long upon his march before ſome of his ſcouts returned, declaring that not one man appeared, but that they ſaw the footing of a great many horſes which ſeemed to have fled, as if they had been purſued by an enemy. This intelligence greatly encouraged Craſſus; and the Romans began to deſpiſe the Parthians, as men that would not face them, nor ſtand an engagement. But Caſſius again adviſed him *to refreſh his army in ſome of the garriſon-towns, and remain there till they could get certain intelligence of the enemy; at leaſt, if he marched towards Seleucia,*

Seleucia, to keep by the river; for thus he would have the convenience of ſhips to bring him proviſions, which might always accompany the army, and the river would ſecure them from being environed, and if they ſhould fight, it might be upon equal terms. As Craſſus was conſidering of this, there came to the camp a chief of an Arabian clan, named *Ariamnes* *, a man of great ſubtlety and diſſimulation, and who was the chief cauſe of all the misfortunes that befel them. Some of the ſoldiers who had ſerved under Pompey knew him; for he had received ſome kindneſſes from him, and was therefore looked upon as a ſure friend to the Romans. But he was now ſuborned by the king's officers, and ſent to Craſſus to entice him, if poſſible, from the river and the hills into the plain, where he might be ſurrounded; for the Parthians deſired any thing rather than to be obliged to meet the Romans face to face. This Barbarian coming into the camp, began firſt by extolling Pompey as his benefactor, (for he was very eloquent); then he ſeemed to admire Craſſus's troops, and blamed him for waſting his time in preparations, when feet were of more uſe to him than hands or weapons, againſt thoſe men who taking with them the moſt valuable of their effects, and all thoſe for whom they had the greateſt affection, had deſigned long ago to fly for refuge to the Scythians or Hyrcanians. *But*, ſaid he, *ſuppoſing they were to fight, at leaſt you ought to make what haſte you can, before the king, recovered from his fright, can draw his forces together; for you ſee Surena and Syllaces who are ſent to amuſe you, and hinder your further progreſs, but the king himſelf keeps at a diſtance.* This, however, was entirely falſe; for Orodes had divided his army into two parts, with one of which he in perſon ravaged Armenia, in order to be revenged of Artabaſes, while he ſent Surena againſt the Romans, not out of contempt, as ſome pretend, for it

* Appian and Dion Caſſius call him *Acbarus* or *Agbarus*.

is

is not probable that he ſhould deſpiſe Craſſus, one of the chief men of Rome, and think it more honourable to go and fight with Artabaſes, and invade Armenia; on the contrary, I believe he apprehended the danger, and therefore choſe to remain at a diſtance and wait the event, ſending Surena before to hazard a battle, and prevent the Romans from advancing further. Nor was this Surena an ordinary perſon, but for wealth, family, and authority, the ſecond man in the kingdom, and for courage and ſkill, the firſt; neither was he exceeded by any in ſtature and the comelineſs of his perſon. Whenever he travelled, though alone, he had a thouſand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots full of concubines, a thouſand men completely armed for his guards, and a great many more light-armed; and the vaſſals and ſlaves that were in his retinue, amounted at leaſt to ten thouſand. Beſide this, he inherited from his anceſtors the honour of ſetting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation. It was Surena who reſtored this very King Orodes from exile. It was he who took the great city of Seleucia, where he was the firſt that ſcaled the walls, and with his own hands beat off all thoſe that oppoſed him. And though at that time he was not above thirty years old, he was remarkable for prudence and underſtanding; wherein he had much the advantage of Craſſus, who was eaſy to be impoſed upon, at firſt through his confidence and raſhneſs, and afterwards through the terrour and conſternation which his misfortunes had thrown him into.

When Ariamnes had thus prevailed upon him to withdraw from the river, he led him, by a way that at firſt ſeemed pleaſant and eaſy, but was afterwards very troubleſome by reaſon of the depth of the ſand, into a vaſt plain without trees or water, and of ſo prodigious an extent, that the eye could not reach to the limits of it; ſo that the ſoldiers were

were not only ſpent with thirſt, and the difficulty of the paſſage, but thrown into the utmoſt deſpair by a dreary unbounded proſpect, where no plant, ſtream, hillock, or graſs was to be ſeen, and where they had nothing in view but heaps of ſand, which, like the waves of a tempeſtuous ſea, rolled in upon them on every ſide. This was ſufficient to make him ſuſpect he was betrayed, of which there was no room to doubt after the arrival of meſſengers from Artabaſes. That prince informed Craſſus, *That he was engaged in a bloody war with Orodes, who had invaded his country; ſo that now it was impoſſible for him to ſend him any ſuccours. Wherefore he adviſed him to march towards Armenia, where with their joint forces they might give Orodes battle; but if he would not follow that advice, he conjured him at leaſt never to encamp in any plain open country favourable to the cavalry, but to keep cloſe to the mountains.* Craſſus, out of pride and vexation, diſdained to return him an anſwer in writing, but told his meſſengers, *That at preſent he was not at leiſure to mind the Armenians, but that in due time he would call upon them, and puniſh Artabaſes for his treachery.* Caſſius was now ſtill more incenſed; however he forbore giving any more of his advice to Craſſus, who he ſaw could not reliſh it, but taking the traitor aſide he vented his anger upon him, *Thou wretch,* ſaid he, *what evil genius brought thee to our camp, and with what charms and potions haſt thou bewitched Craſſus, and perſuaded him to lead his army into theſe unbounded deſerts, into this abyſs of ſand, and to chuſe a march fitter for a captain of Arabian robbers, than the general of a Roman army?* The crafty Barbarian anſwered Caſſius with great humility, and conjured him to have patience yet a little longer. After this he paſſed up and down through the ranks, cheering and animating the ſoldiers, and aſking them in a ſcoffing manner, *What do you think you are marching through Campania? And do you expect every where to find ſprings, and ſhades, and baths, and*

inns for your entertainment? you muſt conſider that you are now traverſing the confines of Arabia and Aſſyria. Thus he ſoothed and wheedled the Romans; and before the cheat was diſcovered, he rode away. Craſſus indeed was privy to his departure, for he had perſuaded him that it was for his ſervice, and that he would go and contrive how to diſorder the affairs of the enemy. It was obſerved, that Craſſus came not abroad that day in his purple robe, ſuch as the Roman generals uſe to wear, but in a black robe, and that as ſoon as he perceived it, he went and changed it. The ſtandard-bearers were hardly able to take up their eagles, which ſeemed to be fixed to the ground, of which Craſſus took no other notice than to laugh at it; and haſtening their march, he compelled his infantry to keep pace with the cavalry, till ſome few of the ſcouts returned, and reported, that their companions were ſlain, and that they hardly eſcaped, that the Parthians were at hand, and that their army was very numerous and reſolute. This report ſpread a general conſternation through the army, but no one was ſo ſenſibly affected with it as Craſſus himſelf. The fright and confuſion he was in impaired his reaſon, and in that hurry of thought he drew up his army. At firſt he followed the advice of Caſſius, and opened the ranks and files as wide as poſſible, that they might take up a large ſpace, to prevent their being ſurrounded; and he diſtributed the horſe into the wings. But afterwards changing his mind, he drew up his army in a ſquare, and made a front every way, each front conſiſting of twelve cohorts, to every one of which he allotted a troop of horſe, that no part might be deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of the cavalry, but that the whole body might charge with equal advantage and ſecurity. Caſſius commanded one of the wings, young Craſſus the other, and he himſelf was in the middle. Thus they marched on till they came to a river named *Baliſſus*, a very inconſiderable

inconſiderable one in itſelf, but very grateful to the ſoldiers, who had ſuffered ſo much by drought and heat in their march over a barren and ſandy deſert. Moſt of the commanders were of opinion that they ought to remain there that night, and inform themſelves as well as poſſible of the number of the enemies and their order, and ſo march againſt them at break of day; but Craſſus was ſo inflamed by the eagerneſs of his ſon, and of the horſemen that were with him, who urged him to lead them on, and engage, that he commanded thoſe who wanted refreſhment, to eat and drink as they ſtood in their ranks; and before they had all done, he led them on, not leiſurely and by ſtops, as if he was going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they ſaw the enemy, who, contrary to their expectation, ſeemed neither ſo many nor ſo magnificently armed as the Romans expected; for Surena had hid his main force behind the firſt ranks, and to prevent their being diſcovered by the glittering of their armour, he commanded them to cover it with their coats, and with ſkins of beaſts.

When both armies were near, and ready to engage, the general had no ſooner given the ſignal, but immediately all the field rung with a hideous noiſe, and terrible clamour; for the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with a ſort of hollow inſtruments covered with leather, and ſurrounded with braſs bells, which being beaten inceſſantly, make a deep and diſmal ſound, which ſeems compounded of the bellowing of wild beaſts and the rattling of thunder; for they wiſely conſidered that of all the ſenſes, that of hearing moſt effectually diſturbs the mind, agitates the paſſions, and ſubverts the underſtanding. When they had ſufficiently terrified the Romans with that ſtrange noiſe, on a ſudden throwing off the covering of their armour, they ſeemed all on fire from the glittering brightneſs of their

helmets and breaſt-plates, which were made of Margian ſteel, and from the braſs and iron trappings of their horſes. At their head appeared Surena, who was himſelf the talleſt and comelieſt man in the whole army. The ſweetneſs of his looks, and effeminacy of his habit, did not promiſe ſo much ſtrength and courage as he really poſſeſſed; for his face was painted, and his hair parted, after the faſhion of the Medes, whereas the other Parthians looked more terrible, and wore their hair rough and uncombed, after the manner of the Scythians. Their firſt deſign was with their lances to beat down and force back the firſt ranks of the Romans; but when they perceived the depth of their files, and the firmneſs with which they kept their ground, they made a retreat, and pretending to ſeparate and break their ranks, they encompaſſed the Romans before they were aware of it. Then Craſſus commanded his light-armed ſoldiers to charge upon them; but they had not gone far, before they met with ſuch a ſhower of arrows, that they were obliged to retire amongſt the heavy-armed ſoldiers. And this was the firſt occaſion of their diſorder and terrour; for now they perceived the ſtrength and force of the Parthian weapons, againſt which no armour was proof, for they pierced through every thing that came in their way. The Parthians then divided themſelves, and began to ſhoot from all ſides, without aiming at any particular mark; for indeed the Romans were drawn up ſo cloſe, that they could not miſs if they would, and the wounds they gave were deep and terrible; for their bows being very large, ſtrong, and flexible, diſcharged their arrows with an impetuous rapidity. Now were the Romans in a moſt deſperate ſituation; for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded mortally; and if they quitted them, and charged the enemy, though they could make no impreſſion upon them, they were ſtill equally ſufferers

ſufferers themſelves. For the Parthians would run from them, and at the ſame time wound them with their arrows; for of all nations, next to the Scythians, they are the moſt expert in that art; and this is wiſely contrived; for by continuing to fight and defend themſelves, they take away the diſhonour of their flight. The Romans at firſt ſupported this with patience, thinking that when they had ſpent all their arrows, they would either give over or fight hand to hand; but when they underſtood that there was a great number of camels loaded with arrows in the rear, and that when the firſt ranks had diſcharged thoſe they had, they wheeled off, and took more; then Craſſus, ſeeing no end of his miſeries, began to deſpair, and ſent to his ſon, bidding him endeavour at all events to engage the enemy before he was quite ſurrounded, for it was him that one of the wings of the Parthians chiefly aimed at, and endeavoured to attack in the rear. The young man therefore taking with him thirteen hundred horſe, (a thouſand of which he had from Cæſar), five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry that were next at hand, wheeled about with a deſign to charge the Parthians. But they, whether it was that they feared to ſtand againſt an army in ſo good array, (as ſome think), or elſe that they deſigned to entice young Craſſus as far as they could from his father, turned their backs and fled. Upon this, young Craſſus crying out with a loud voice, *They dare not ſtand*, with full ſpeed purſued them. He had with him Megabacchus and Cenſorinus *, the former of whom was famous for his ſtrength and courage, the latter for being of a noble family, and an excellent orator; they were both intimate friends of Craſſus, and nearly of the ſame age with him. The horſe thus puſhing on, the infantry ſtaid little behind, being elated with hope and joy; for they

* It is very plain that this word has been corrupted, for Megabacchus cannot be a Roman name.

ſuppoſed they had already conquered, and now were only purſuing, till, when it was too late, and they were got too far from the main body, they perceived the ſtratagem; for they that ſeemed to fly, now turned again, and were joined by a great many others. Hereupon young Craſſus made a halt, thinking that the enemy, when they ſaw them ſo few in number, would venture to come to a cloſe engagement. But the Barbarians placing their armed cavalry in the front, detached their light horſe, who wheeling round incloſed them on every ſide; and by ſcouring the plain, they raiſed ſuch a duſt from the heaps of ſand with which it abounded, that the Romans could neither ſee nor ſpeak to one another, and, for want of room, tumbling together on heaps, were ſlain, not by a quick and eaſy death, but with intolerable pains and convulſions; for, rolling upon the ground with the arrows ſticking in their wounds, they died in that manner; or if they tried by force to pluck them out, the barbed points caught hold of the nerves and veins, ſo that they miſerably tortured themſelves. Many of them died thus, and they that ſurvived were incapable of action; for when young Craſſus exhorted them to charge the armed cavalry, they ſhowed him their hands nailed to their ſhields, and their feet ſtuck to the ground, ſo that they could neither fly nor fight. Wherefore he charged briſkly with his horſe, and made a gallant onſet. But the fight was very unequal, with reſpect both to the offenſive and the defenſive part; for his men with their weak and ſmall javelins, ſtruck againſt armour that was made of tough raw hides, or well-tempered ſteel; whereas the bodies of the Gauls, which were either naked or but lightly armed, were expoſed to the ſtrong ſpears of the enemy. Theſe were the troops on whom young Craſſus chiefly depended; and indeed he performed wonders with them; for they would catch hold of the enemies ſpears, and

ſeizing

ſeizing on their bodies, would pull them from their horſes, and fling them on the ground, where they could ſcarce ſtir by reaſon of the heavineſs of their armour; and many of the Gauls quitting their own horſes, would creep under thoſe of the enemy, and wound them in the belly; this made them unruly through the exceſs of pain, ſo that bounding up, they threw their riders, and trampled upon them and the enemy promiſcuouſly. But that which diſtreſſed the Gauls moſt of all, was the exceſſive heat and thirſt, to which they had not been accuſtomed. They likewiſe loſt moſt of their horſes; for riding full ſpeed againſt the Parthian cavalry, they ran upon their ſpears, ſo that they were forced to retire towards the foot, and carry off young Craſſus, who was dangerouſly wounded.

As they were drawing off, they obſerved a ſandy hillock at a ſmall diſtance from them, and retreated to it. There tying their horſes to one another, and placing them in the middle, they joined their ſhields together, and as it were entrenched themſelves behind them, thinking it would prove ſome defence againſt the Barbarians: but the contrary happened; for when troops are drawn up on a plain, the front, in ſome meaſure, ſecures thoſe who are behind; but when they are upon a hill, the inequality of the ground making the rear appear above the front, they are all equally expoſed to the miſſive weapons of the enemy. This was the caſe of the Romans, who all lay open to the aſſault of the Barbarians, and could only bewail their misfortune in dying ſo ingloriouſly and inactively.

Young Craſſus had with him two Greeks, who had ſettled in that country in a town called *Carræ*. The name of one of them was *Hieronymus*, and of the other *Nicomachus*. Theſe men preſſed him to retire with them to a town called *Iſchnæ*, which had declared for the Romans, and was not far diſtant. But he replied, *That there was no death ſo cruel as to*

oblige

oblige him to abandon thoſe who ſacrificed their lives for his ſake. At the ſame time conjuring them to provide for their own ſafety, he embraced and diſmiſſed them. Then being unable to make uſe of his own hand, which was pierced by an arrow, he preſented his ſide to his armour-bearer, and commanded him to run him through. It is ſaid that Cenſorinus fell in the ſame manner, and that Megabacchus ſlew himſelf, as did moſt of the principal officers; the reſt fell by the ſpears of the Parthians, and defended themſelves to the laſt. The Parthians took no more than five hundred priſoners; and when they had cut off the head of young Craſſus, they marched againſt the father, whoſe affairs were in this poſture. After he had commanded his ſon to fall upon the enemy, and word was brought him that they were flying, and that the Romans were in hot purſuit of them, and at the ſame time obſerved that he himſelf was not ſo vigorouſly attacked as before, (for many of thoſe with whom he was engaged, went to join the others who were going againſt young Craſſus), his courage began a little to revive, and drawing his army into an advantageous poſt, he expected every moment when his ſon would return from the purſuit.

The meſſengers his ſon had firſt ſent to advertiſe him of his danger, fell into the hands of the Barbarians, who put them to the ſword; the laſt hardly eſcaping, came and declared, that Publius was loſt, unleſs he had ſpeedy ſuccours. At this news Craſſus was diſtracted by a croud of paſſions, and ſo diſcompoſed in his mind, that he had no longer the uſe of his reaſon, being on the one hand fearful of loſing the whole, and on the other careful for his ſon's preſervation; but at laſt he reſolved to move to his aſſiſtance. In this reſolution he ordered the army to march; but that very moment the Parthians, who were returning from the defeat of young Craſſus, arrived with loud exclamations,

mations, and ſongs of victory, which rendered them ſtill more terrible. At the ſame time the ſound of their drums and cymbals rung in the ears of the Romans, who knew it was a prelude to a freſh engagement. The Barbarians brought the head of young Craſſus upon the point of a ſpear; and when they were come near, they ſhowed it to the Romans, and aſked with an inſolent ſcoff who were his parents, and to what family he belonged: *For*, ſaid they, *it is impoſſible that ſo brave and noble a youth ſhould be the ſon of ſo pitiful a coward as Craſſus.* This ſight diſmayed the Romans above all their other calamities; for inſtead of being inſpired with courage and a deſire of revenge, as might have been expected, they were ſeized with horrour and trembling. In the mean time Craſſus behaved with more conſtancy and reſolution than uſual, and outdid himſelf in this terrible diſaſter. For paſſing through the ranks, he cried out, *This, O Romans, is my own peculiar loſs, but the fortune and the glory of Rome is ſafe and unhurt ſo long as you are living; however, if any one be concerned for my loſs of the beſt of ſons, let him turn his reſentment upon the enemy. Put a ſtop to their joy, revenge their cruelty, nor be diſmayed at what is paſt; for whoever attempts great things, muſt meet with ſome diſappointments. Neither did Lucullus overthrow Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without effuſion of blood: our anceſtors have loſt a thouſand ſhips on the coaſts of Sicily, and many of their generals and commanders in Italy; and yet, notwithſtanding theſe loſſes, they never failed to overthrow the conquerors; for the ſtate of Rome did not arrive to this height by fortune, but by perſeverance and fortitude in adverſity.* Craſſus endeavoured by this diſcourſe to revive the courage of his ſoldiers, but he hardly found any of them affected by what he ſaid; and when he ordered them to ſhout for the battle, he perceived the dejection of the whole army; for the ſhout they gave was faint, low, and unequal, whereas that of the enemy was clear and bold.

bold. When they came to the attack, the light horſe of the Parthians flanked the wings of the Romans, and annoyed them with their arrows, whilſt the infantry attacking them with their ſpears in the front, drove them into a narrow ſpace, all but thoſe who ruſhed upon them with a deſperate courage, to avoid dying a moſt painful death by their arrows. For though they could not do the enemy much damage, they drew this benefit from their boldneſs, that they were ſuddenly diſpatched by the large wounds they received; for the Barbarians puſhed their long thick ſpears with ſuch violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.

In this manner the fight continued till night came on, and parted them. When the Parthians retreated, they declared in an inſulting manner, *That they would allow Craſſus one night to mourn for the loſs of his ſon, unleſs he thought it more expedient to go voluntarily, and ſurrender himſelf to Arſaces, than to be forcibly carried to him.* They encamped near the Roman army, not doubting that the next day they ſhould complete their victory.

But this proved a melancholy night to the Romans. They neither thought of burying their dead, or of taking care of the wounded and the dying. They were all employed in lamenting their own misfortunes; for they ſaw there was no poſſibility of eſcaping either by remaining in their camp till it was light, or by committing themſelves under the cover of the night to that boundleſs plain. Beſides, their wounded men would not ſuffer them to make uſe of this laſt expedient; for to take them with them would retard their flight, and if they left them behind, their cries and moans would give the enemy notice of their retreat.

Though they were ſenſible that Craſſus was the ſole cauſe of their diſtreſs, yet they were all deſirous to ſee him, and to hear him ſpeak. But he had

had thrown himſelf on the earth in a remote corner with his head covered, and lay as a ſtriking example of the inſtability of fortune to the ignorant and unthinking, but to the wiſe and conſiderate a more fatal example of the effects of raſhneſs and ambition, which would not ſuffer him to be ſatisfied with being the firſt among ſo many millions of men, but made him think himſelf in a mean and diſhonourable rank whilſt there were two that were his ſuperiours.

Octavius his lieutenant and Caſſius came to him, to rouſe and comfort him; but ſeeing him wholly abandoned to his grief, they called a council of war, in which it was reſolved that the army ſhould march without ſound of trumpet. At firſt their orders were obſerved with a profound ſilence; but ſoon after, when the ſick and wounded ſaw that they were left behind, a ſtrange confuſion and tumult, with outcries and lamentations, filled the camp; and a trembling and dread ſeized thoſe who were upon the march, as if the enemy were juſt behind them; by which means now and then turning back, now and then drawing up in order of battle, ſometimes taking up the wounded that followed them, and ſometimes laying them down, they waſted a great deal of time. Three hundred horſe however eſcaped under the conduct of Ignatius, who arriving about midnight at Carræ, called to the watch, and bid them tell Coponius the governour that Craſſus had fought a very great battle with the Parthians; and without explaining himſelf further, or telling who he was, he went on to Zeugma; by which means he ſaved himſelf and his men, but was univerſally condemned for deſerting his general. However this ſlight information given to Coponius proved of great ſervice to Craſſus; for he ſuſpecting by this haſty and confuſed manner of delivering it, that the news was unfavourable, immediately ordered the garriſon to arms; and as

ſoon

ſoon as he underſtood that Craſſus was on the way towards him, he went out to meet him, and received him with his army into the town.

The Parthians, although they perceived the retreat of the Romans in the night, yet did not purſue them; but as ſoon as it was day, they came upon thoſe that were left in the camp, and put no leſs than four thouſand of them to the ſword; and their cavalry picked up a great many ſtragglers. One of Craſſus's lieutenants, called *Vargontinus*, being ſeparated from the army in the night with three cohorts, loſt his way, and was next morning found on a riſing ground by the Barbarians, who attacked him, and ſlew the whole party except twenty, who with their ſwords drawn forced through the thickeſt of the enemy. The Barbarians admiring their courage, opened their ranks, and let them paſs without any further moleſtation to Carræ.

Soon after this a falſe report was brought to Surena, that Craſſus with his principal officers had eſcaped, and that thoſe who were got into Carræ were but a confuſed rout of inſignificant people, not worth any further purſuit. Suppoſing therefore that he had loſt the very crown and glory of his victory, and yet being uncertain whether it were ſo or not, and therefore not able to reſolve whether he ſhould beſiege Carræ or follow Craſſus, he ſent one of his interpreters to the walls, commanding him to call Craſſus himſelf or Caſſius in Latin, and tell them, that Surena demanded a conference with them. As ſoon as Craſſus heard this, he embraced the propoſal; and ſoon after came up a band of Arabians, who very well knew the faces of Craſſus and Caſſius, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. As ſoon as they ſaw Caſſius on the wall, they told him, *That Surena deſired a peace, and would allow them to retire in ſafety, if they would make a league with the king his maſter, and withdraw all their garriſons out of Meſopotamia; and this he thought*

moſt

moſt adviſable for both parties, before things came to extremity. Caſſius conſented, and deſired that a time and place might be appointed, where Craſſus and Surena might have an interview. The Arabians having charged themſelves with the meſſage, went back to Surena, who was not a little rejoiced to find that Craſſus was in a place where he might beſiege him. Wherefore he came up the next day with his army, who inſulted the Romans, and declared, that if they expected any mercy, they muſt inſtantly deliver Craſſus and Caſſius bound into their hands. The Romans were much provoked at this double dealing, and adviſed Craſſus to lay aſide his long and fruitleſs hopes of the Armenian ſuccours, and reſolve to fly. This deſign ought to have been kept ſecret from all the inhabitants of Carræ, till it was put in execution. But Craſſus himſelf revealed it to Andromachus, the moſt treacherous of men; nay, he even choſe him for his guide. The Parthians had from him punctual intelligence of all that paſſed. But it being not cuſtomary nor ſafe for them to engage by night, Craſſus choſe that time to begin his flight; and Andromachus, leſt he ſhould get the ſtart too far of his purſuers, led him round about, and at laſt brought him into deep moraſſes, and places full of ditches and incloſures, ſo that thoſe who followed him not only marched with great difficulty, but were forced continually to wander backward and forward. Some there were who ſuppoſing that by leading them through theſe winding intricate ways Andromachus intended them no good, reſolved to follow him no further; and at laſt Caſſius himſelf returned to Carræ: and when his guides, who were Arabians, adviſed him to remain there till the moon was out of Scorpio, he told them, *That he was moſt afraid of Sagittarius*; and marching with all expedition he arrived ſafe in Syria with five hundred horſe. Others of them having honeſt guides, took

their way by the mountains called *Sinnaca*, and got into places of ſecurity by day-break; theſe were five thouſand under the command of Octavius, a very brave man. But Craſſus was ſo entangled by Andromachus in the fens and rough ways, that before he could get clear of them, the day overtook him. There were with him four cohorts of legionary ſoldiers, a very few horſemen, and five lictors. As ſoon as he had with great difficulty got into the way, he found that the enemy was juſt behind him. But though he was not above a mile and a half from Octavius, inſtead of going to join him, he retreated to another hill, neither ſo defenſible nor unpaſſable for the horſe, but yet lying under the mountains of Sinnaca, and joined by a long ridge which extended through the plain to the hill where Octavius was poſted. Octavius could ſee in what danger the general was; and he himſelf, with only a few followers at firſt, came to his aſſiſtance. Soon after the reſt reproaching themſelves for their cowardice, marched down, and falling upon the Parthians drove them from the hill; then ſurrounding Craſſus, and fencing him with their ſhields, they declared that their general ſhould never be expoſed to a Parthian arrow, ſo long as any of them were left alive to defend him. Surena therefore perceiving that his ſoldiers grew faint in their attack, and knowing that if the Romans ſhould continue the battle till night, they might then gain the mountains, and be out of his reach, he had recourſe to a ſtratagem. For ſome of the priſoners were ſet free, who had heard a contrived diſcourſe in the camp, that the king did not deſign that the war ſhould be purſued to the utmoſt extremity againſt the Romans, but was rather deſirous, by his gentle treatment of Craſſus, to prepare the way for a reconciliation between the two empires. Accordingly the Barbarians deſiſted from fighting, and Surena himſelf going gently towards the hill,

unbent

unbent his bow, and held out his hand, inviting Craſſus to an agreement, and aſſuring him, *That the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given the Romans a proof of his power; that now he voluntarily offered to give them a proof of his mildneſs and generoſity, by making an alliance, and permitting them to go away in ſafety.* Some liſtened with great joy to this diſcourſe of Surena, and were eager to accept the offer; but Craſſus, having had ſufficient experience of the Parthian perfidiouſneſs, and not being able to aſſign any reaſon for this ſudden change, gave little credit to it, and took time to conſider. Meantime the ſoldiers in a clamorous manner preſſed him to treat; and even upbraided and reproached him, ſaying, *That he expoſed them to the arms of an enemy, with whom he had not the courage to confer, though they were unarmed.* He tried firſt to prevail with them by entreaties, and told them, *That if they would have patience till evening, they might get into the rugged mountainous places*; at the ſame time he pointed out the way with his hand, entreating them *not to neglect their preſervation when it was ſo near.* Then they began to mutiny, and threatened him, ſo that he was overpowered and forced to go. At parting he turned about and ſaid, *You, Octavius and Petronius, and the reſt of the commanders which are preſent, are witneſſes of the neceſſity I lie under, and of the indignities and violence offered to my perſon; however, when you are got into a place of ſafety, declare to all the world, that Craſſus periſhed rather by the ſubtlety of his enemies, than by the treaſon and perfidiouſneſs of his countrymen.* But Octavius and Petronius would not ſtay behind, or ſuffer him to go down by himſelf. As for the lictors, they would likewiſe have waited upon him, but he diſmiſſed them. The firſt perſons the Barbarians ſent to meet and receive him, were two mongrel Greeks, who leaping from their horſes ſaluted him with profound reſpect, and deſired him, in the Greek language, *to ſend ſome of his retinue be-*

fore, who might ſee that both Surena and thoſe about him were diſarmed. Craſſus anſwered, *That if he had entertained the leaſt concern about life, he would never have intruſted himſelf in their hands*; however, he ſent two brothers, the Roſcii, to inquire on what terms they were to treat, and what attendants each were to have. Thoſe when they appeared, Surena ordered to be ſeized, and advanced on horſeback with the principal officers of his army. So ſoon as he came near he ſaid, *What is it I ſee? a Roman general on foot, while myſelf and retinue are on horſeback!* and ordered a horſe to be brought for him. But Craſſus replied, *That there was no error committed on either ſide, for they met each according to the cuſtom of his own country.* Surena told him, *That from that time forward there was a league betwixt the King Orodes and the Romans; but that Craſſus muſt go with him to the banks of the Euphrates to ſign it; for you Romans,* added he, *are ſomewhat forgetful of articles and agreements,* and at the ſame time he reached out his hand to him. Craſſus ordered that one of his horſes ſhould be brought, but Surena ſaid, *There is no need of it, for the king preſents you with this*; and immediately a horſe with a golden bit was brought up to him, and ſome of the attendants having lifted him into the ſaddle, ſtruck the horſe to make him go the faſter. Upon this Octavius ran and ſeized the bridle. At the ſame time Petronius, one of the tribunes, and ſoon after the reſt of the company that attended Craſſus, came up, and endeavoured to ſtop the horſe, and remove the Barbarians that ſurrounded him. Thus from pulling and thruſting one another, they came to a quarrel, and ſoon after to blows. Octavius drawing his ſword, killed a groom belonging to one of the Barbarians; another of them coming behind Octavius, killed him. Petronius being without his armour, received a blow on his breaſt, however he leaped from his horſe unhurt. At the ſame time Craſſus was killed by

by a Parthian called *Pomaxæthres* *. Some ſay that he was killed by another perſon, and that Pomaxæthres cut off his head, and his right hand. But both accounts are founded only upon conjecture. For of all that were then preſent, ſome were killed as they were fighting near Craſſus, and the reſt immediately fled to their comrades upon the hill.

The Parthians followed them, and told the Romans, *that Craſſus had indeed received the puniſhment he juſtly deſerved, but that Surena invited the reſt to come down from the hill without fear, giving them his word for their ſafety.* Upon this aſſurance ſome of them came down, and ſurrendered; the reſt taking the advantage of the night diſperſed. But of theſe very few eſcaped, moſt of them being chaſed by the Arabians the next day, and put to the ſword. It is ſaid, that in all twenty thouſand men were ſlain, and ten thouſand taken priſoners.

Surena ſent the head and hand of Craſſus to Orodes, who was then in Armenia. At the ſame time he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he was bringing Craſſus alive to Seleucia, and prepared a ſort of burleſque proceſſion, which by way of inſult and deriſion he named a *triumph*. He had among his priſoners a Roman called *Caius Pacianus*, who very much reſembled Craſſus. Having dreſſed him in a Barbarian habit, and inſtructed him to anſwer to the title of Craſſus and Imperator, they ſet him on horſeback. A band of trumpeters and lictors marched before him, bearing the rods and axes, and mounted upon camels. They hung purſes upon the rods, and faſtened the heads of the ſlain freſh bleeding to the axes. He was followed by a company of courtezans of Seleucia, all excellent muſicians, ſinging ſongs full of ſcurrilous re-

* Appian calls him *Maxæthres*; and in ſome copies of Plutarch he is called *Axathres*.

flections upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Craſſus.

After this proceſſion was over, of which all the people were ſpectators, Surena convened the ſenate of Seleucia, and produced before them the obſcene writings of Ariſtides, called the *Mileſiacs* *. This was not a fiction; for thoſe works were really found in the baggage of Roſcius, and gave Surena a fair occaſion to ridicule and reproach the Romans, who were not able, even in the time of war, to abſtain from ſuch wanton writings and practices. However, it appeared to thoſe ſenators that Æſop ſpoke like a wiſe man, when he ſaid, *That all men carry a wallet on their ſhoulders; that in the part before they lay their neighbours faults, and in that behind their own.* For they obſerved that Surena had put into the fore part thoſe Mileſian obſcenities, and in that behind his own voluptuouſneſs and ſenſuality, which gave ground to believe that another Sybaris † was to be found in the midſt of Parthia; for he was followed by an infinite number of chariots, which were for the uſe of his concubines, and an equipage ſuitable to it; ſo that the form of his army was the reverſe of that of vipers and of thoſe ſerpents which are called *Scytalæ* ‡; for the head looked terrible with ſpears, arrows, darts, and horſemen, but the tail conſiſted of courtezans, muſic, ſongs, and all kinds of revelling and debauchery. Roſcius indeed was not to be excuſed; but it was impudent in the Parthians to exclaim thus againſt the Mileſiacs, when many of the royal line of the Arſacidæ had been born of Mileſian and Ionian ſtrumpets.

During all theſe tranſactions, Orodes had made a peace with the King of Armenia, and concluded

* This Ariſtides was of Miletus. He wrote, beſide the work here mentioned, an hiſtory of Italy, of Sicily, and of Perſia, and an account of Cnidus.

† Sybaris, a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

‡ The ancients thought that the ſting of a ſerpent lay in his tail.

a marriage between his ſon and that prince's ſiſter. In their feaſtings and entertainments on this occaſion, Grecian compoſitions were recited; for Orodes was not altogether ignorant of the Greek language; and Artabaſes was ſo expert in it, that he wrote tragedies, orations, and hiſtories; ſome of which are ſtill extant. Whilſt they were in the height of their feaſting and merriment, Sillaces arrived one night at the palace-gate with the head of Craſſus. The tables were not yet removed; and Jaſon a tragedian of the city of Tralles was then repeating ſome paſſages of the Bacchanals of Euripides, and part of the ſtory of Agave. Whilſt all that heard him were applauding him, Sillaces entered into the hall, adored the king, and laid at his feet the head of Craſſus. At the ſight of this the Parthians clapped their hands, with loud acclamations, and expreſſions of joy. The waiters by the king's order placed Sillaces at the table; whilſt Jaſon delivering to one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, and dreſſing himſelf in that of Agave, took up the head of Craſſus, and like a real Bacchanal full of enthuſiaſm ſung that part, where Agave deſcending from the mountains, and bearing upon her thyrſus the head of Pentheus, which ſhe fancied to be the head of a young lion, ſays,

We've hunted down a lion's whelp to-day,
And from the mountains bring a noble prey.

The whole company were highly delighted with thoſe verſes; and when the following lines were ſung, which are a dialogue between Agave and the Chorus,

Cho. *What happy hand the fatal monſter ſlew?*
Ag. *I claim that honour to my courage due;*

Pomaxæthres, who was ſitting at the table, roſe, and would have taken the head from Jaſon, inſiſting that thoſe words were more properly to be ſung by

by him than that actor. The king was highly pleaſed, and gave Pomaxæthres the cuſtomary reward; and to Jaſon he gave a talent. Thus truly *tragical* did Craſſus's expedition prove, and ſuch was the exodium * that attended it. But yet the divine juſtice failed not to puniſh both Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury; for Surena not long after was put to death by Orodes, who envied his glory; and Orodes himſelf having loſt his ſon Pacorus (who was ſlain in battle by the Romans), and falling into a diſeaſe which turned to a dropſy, had aconite given him by his ſecond ſon Phraates. The poiſon working only upon the diſeaſe, and carrying away the dropſical matter with it, the king began to recover; Phraates therefore reſolved to take the ſhorteſt courſe, and ſtrangled him with his own hands.

* The ancient Romans had a kind of farces called *ſatires*, conſiſting of ſongs and dances, and pieces of wit indifferently levelled at the ſpectators as well as actors, but with a due regard to the laws, and to decency. Theſe ſatires continued in vogue for two hundred and twenty years together, till Livius Andronicus had the courage to write juſt tragedies after the manner of the Grecians. This new way of writing pleaſed ſo much, that the ſatires lay neglected, whilſt the poets themſelves acted their own pieces; but after they had given them to the players, the Roman youth reſtored the ſatires to the theatre, and repreſented them at firſt between the acts of their tragedies inſtead of the chorus; for as the ſubjects of thoſe farces were broken and incoherent, they could eaſily be ſeparated. At laſt they joined them all to the end of their tragedies, eſpecially thoſe called the *Atellan* tragedies, and at the ſame time they changed their name of *ſatires* into that of *exodium*, that is, *iſſue* or *concluſion*, becauſe they acted them at the end of their tragedies. But that which is moſt remarkable is, that the players acted thoſe farces under the ſame maſks, and in the ſame habits they had uſed juſt before in the tragedy, as if they were ſtill repreſenting the ſame perſons, and performing the ſame parts; and this gives us the true ſenſe of this paſſage in Plutarch, which has never been rightly explained. For we find that the ſame perſons, who acted in the Bacchanals, continue to act in this farce with the head of Craſſus.

The

The Compariſon of Crassus with Nicias.

IN this compariſon, we muſt in the firſt place allow that the wealth of Nicias, compared with that of Craſſus, was accumulated by leſs blameable means. It is true, no one can approve the works of Nicias carried on in the mines, where they uſually employ profligates, or Barbarians, moſt of them in chains, who periſh ſooner or later in thoſe unwholeſome ſubterraneous caverns. But if we compare this manner of acquiring wealth with that of Craſſus, who enriched himſelf either by Sylla's proſcriptions and confiſcations, or by the purchaſe of houſes, which he bought when they were on fire, or when it was deemed impoſſible to ſave them from the flames, we ſhall find it more humane and honourable. Craſſus publicly and profeſſedly made uſe of thoſe arts as other men do of huſbandry, and of placing their money out to intereſt: and as to thoſe other crimes, with which he was charged, and which he always denied, ſuch as taking money for his vote in the ſenate, his pillaging the allies, his viſiting and flattering women in order to gain their eſtates, and concealing criminals in his houſe for reward; theſe are things of which Nicias never fell under the leaſt ſuſpicion. On the contrary, he was rather laughed at for giving money to ſycophants, merely out of timorouſneſs; a practice indeed that would by no means become a Pericles or Ariſtides, but was neceſſary for him, who by nature was deſtitute of courage and reſolution. It was of juſt ſuch an action as this, that Lycurgus the orator afterwards boaſted to the people; for being accuſed of having bought off one of thoſe informing ſycophants with money, he ſaid, *It is a great pleaſure to me to reflect, that having adminiſtered your affairs for ſo long a time, I am at laſt accuſed rather for giving than receiving.*

If

If we conſider them with reſpect to their expenſes, we ſhall find that there was more elegance in thoſe of Nicias, which were employed in donations to the temples of the gods, and in exhibiting public ſhows and games; though all that Nicias beſtowed, and even all that he poſſeſſed, bore no proportion to the expenſes of Craſſus in firſt entertaining ſo many thouſands, and afterwards beſtowing on them a largeſs of corn ſufficient to ſupport them for three months *; ſo that every one muſt be convinced that it is the very nature of vice to be irregular and inconſiſtent, when he ſees men who amaſs riches by the baſeſt means, ſpend them in ſo uſeful and generous a manner. So much for their riches, and the uſe they made of them. As for their management in public affairs, no craft, injuſtice, or violence can be objected to Nicias; on the contrary, he was impoſed upon by Alcibiades, and whenever he had occaſion to appear in the aſſemblies of the people, he conſtantly behaved with great modeſty and caution. Whereas Craſſus was generally blamed for his infidelity, prevarication, and fickleneſs in his friendſhips and enmities. And as for violence, he did not himſelf deny his hiring aſſaſſins to aſſault Cato and Domitius, that he might the better compaſs his ends, and obtain the conſulſhip. At the meeting of the people for diſpoſing of the provinces, many were wounded, and four killed. Beſide this he was guilty of an outrage I have omitted in the relation of his life, which was, that he ſtruck with his fiſt one Lucius Analius a ſenator, for contradicting him, and drove him bleeding out of the court. As Craſſus was to be blamed for his tyrannical and arbitrary proceedings, ſo is Nicias no leſs to be condemned for his puſillanimity and meanneſs of ſpirit, which made him ſubmit

* Plutarch forgot to mention here what he tells us at the beginning of the life of Craſſus, that he at the ſame time conſecrated the tenth part of his eſtate to Hercules.

to

to the baſeſt and moſt profligate of men. In this reſpect Craſſus ſhowed himſelf more noble and magnanimous; who, though he contended not with ſuch wretches as Cleon or Hyperbolus, but with the magnificence of Cæſar, and the three triumphs of Pompey, would not ſtoop, but bravely oppoſed his intereſt to theirs, and obtained the dignity of cenſor, even in preference to Pompey himſelf. For he who engages in great affairs, and aims at the firſt rank in the ſtate, ought not to conſider whether his actions will expoſe him to envy, but whether they are noble and illuſtrious, and ſhould endeavour by the greatneſs of his power to render himſelf ſuperiour to envy. But if, Nicias, thou wert ſo fond of ſecurity and repoſe, if thou wert afraid of Alcibiades in the forum, of the Lacedæmonians at Pylus, and of Perdiccas in Thrace; ſurely the city would have afforded thee room enough for retirement, where thou mightſt have ſat undiſturbed, wreathing for thyſelf the garland of peace and tranquillity. For indeed that love of peace which was ſo remarkable in Nicias, was truly a divine diſpoſition; and the deſign he had formed of putting an end to the war was worthy of a Grecian. In this therefore he has ſo much the advantage, that Craſſus would not deſerve to be compared to him, although he had extended the Roman empire as far as the Caſpian ſea and the Indian ocean.

In a ſtate where there is ſome ſenſe of virtue left, a man in power ought not to give way to the unworthy, nor intruſt the government to thoſe that are incapable of it, nor place any confidence in the diſhoneſt. But Nicias was guilty of this when he raiſed Cleon to the command of the army, a man remarkable for nothing but his loud voice and matchleſs impudence. Indeed I do not commend Craſſus, who in the war with Spartacus was more forward to fight than became a prudent general, though he was urged to it by a ſenſe of honour, being apprehenſive

henſive leſt Pompey, by his coming, ſhould rob him of the glory of the action, as Mummius did Metellus at the taking of Corinth. But Nicias's behaviour was altogether mean and abſurd; for he did not yield up to his competitor the charge of general, at time when there was a good proſpect of ſucceſs; but when he knew the expedition would be very hazardous, he then reſolved to provide for his own ſecurity, and left the commonwealth to ſhift for itſelf. In this he acted very contrary to Themiſtocles, who, to prevent a worthleſs ignorant man from being appointed general in the war againſt the Perſians, which would have brought the ſtate into the utmoſt danger, prevailed on him by a large ſum of money to drop his pretenſions; neither did he act like Cato, who ſued to be tribune of the people in a critical conjuncture, when he ſaw the times were like to be peculiarly troubleſome and dangerous. But Nicias reſerved himſelf for the command, when he was to march againſt Minoa, Cithera, or the wretched Melians; but reſigned his office when he was to fight with the Lacedæmonians, and committed the fleet, the ſoldiers, their arms, and the command, to the unſkilfulneſs and temerity of Cleon, at a time when the exigence of their affairs required an officer of conſummate wiſdom and experience; wherein he not only betrayed his own honour, but the intereſt and ſafety of his country. For this reaſon he was afterwards forced upon the Sicilian expedition, contrary to his inclination and opinion. For men generally believed that his backwardneſs to it did not proceed from any real conviction he had of the inexpediency of the enterpriſe, but was the effect of ſloth and effeminacy, which induced him to deprive his city, as far as it depended upon him, of the conqueſt of Sicily. But after all, this is a ſtrong proof of his integrity, that though he was always averſe to war, and earneſtly declined the command, yet they always

ways pitched upon him as the beſt and moſt experienced general they had. Whereas Craſſus, though he always deſired the command, yet never could obtain it but in the ſervile war, and then he got it for want of other officers; Pompey, Metellus, Lucullus, and his brother, being otherwiſe employed; although he was at that time at his higheſt pitch of power and reputation. This makes it probable, that even they who were moſt in his intereſt thought him a man (as the comic poet ſays)

In ev'ry art excelling but in war.

But this perſuaſion was of no benefit to the Romans, who were overpowered by his inordinate ambition and deſire to command. In a word, the Athenians ſent Nicias to the Sicilian war againſt his will, and Rome againſt hers was engaged by Craſſus in the Parthian war. Craſſus was the cauſe of the calamities that befel the Romans; Athens was the cauſe of thoſe that befel Nicias. However, even in this, Nicias is more to be commended than Craſſus to be condemned. For Nicias, like a wiſe experienced captain, would not ſuffer himſelf to be miſled by thoſe vain hopes, that had infatuated his fellow-citizens, but conſtantly made uſe of all his power to prevent the Sicilian expedition; and Craſſus on the contrary excited the Romans to the war againſt the Parthians, as to an undertaking that could not fail of ſucceſs; in which indeed he was deceived, but we cannot deny him the glory of having aimed at great things; for whilſt Cæſar was reducing the weſt, and ſubduing the Gauls, the Germans, and the Britons, he was ambitious of extending the Roman conqueſts in the eaſt, as far as the Indian ocean, and of bringing all Aſia into ſubjection. This was no more than what Pompey aimed at, and Lucullus attempted, who were always eſteemed perſons of a mild ſedate temper, and who preſerved their reputation with all mankind,

though they engaged in the ſame project with Craſſus, and had the ſame ends in view. For when the province of Aſia was aſſigned to Pompey by a decree of the people, the ſenate oppoſed it with vigour; and when news was brought to Rome that Cæſar had defeated three hundred thouſand Germans, Cato propoſed to deliver him up to the vanquiſhed, to avert the anger of the gods from Rome, and turn it againſt him who had violated the treaties. But the people laughing at Cato's motion, decreed ſupplications to the gods for fifteen days together. How many days then would they have ſacrificed, how extenſive would their joy have been, if Craſſus had ſent them word from Babylon that he was victorious, and that paſſing from thence into Media and Perſia, and ſubduing Hyrcania, Suſa, and Bactra, he had reduced all thoſe kingdoms to Roman provinces? For *if juſtice is to be violated*, as Euripides ſays, and we grow impatient of repoſe, and are unſatisfied with our preſent enjoyments, it is not to be violated for the ſake of deſtroying ſo inconſiderable a place as Scandia, or Mende, or going in purſuit of the Æginetæ, who have abandoned their own country, and like birds ſheltered themſelves in foreign climates; we are to ſet a higher price upon injuſtice, and not commit it for every trifle, as if juſtice was a mean worthleſs thing beneath our notice. For they who extol Alexander's expedition, and condemn that of Craſſus, are in my opinion much in the wrong, and do not judge of the actions of the one or the other from the nature of them, but from the event.

If we conſider them in their military capacities, we ſhall find that Nicias performed many brave exploits; for he overthrew the enemy in ſeveral encounters, and was very near making himſelf maſter of Syracuſe; and the misfortunes with which he was overwhelmed were not all to be charged upon himſelf; ſome were owing to his ſickneſs, and

ſome

ſome to the envy and ill-will of his fellow-citizens. Whereas Craſſus committed ſo many faults, that he put it out of the power of fortune to be favourable to him; ſo that it is not ſo much to be wondered at, that his folly ſhould be overcome by the power of the Parthians, as that it ſhould overcome the good fortune of the Romans.

They both died unhappily; though one of them always paid the greateſt attention to every thing that related to divination, which the other neglected and deſpiſed. It is very difficult to judge which of them took the wiſeſt and ſafeſt method; but the errours committed through ſome religious motive or principle authoriſed by cuſtom, and acknowledged by all mankind, ſeem to be more pardonable than thoſe which ariſe from a ſpirit of preſumption and obſtinacy, and an oppoſition to eſtabliſhed laws. Craſſus, however, in his death, is much leſs to be blamed than Nicias; for he did not ſurrender himſelf voluntarily, he was not bound, nor contumelioufly treated; he only gave way to the preſſing inſtances of his friends, and ſuffered contrary to the law of nations; whereas Nicias, in hopes of ſaving a ſhameful ignominious life, voluntarily ſubmitted himſelf to his enemies, which made his death the more wretched and diſhonourable.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

21 AU 69